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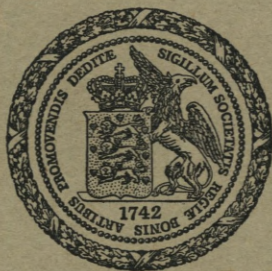
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EARLY EXPLORATION IN MESOPOTAMIA

With a List of the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform
Texts Published before 1851

BY

SVEND AAGE PALLIS



København

i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

1954

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§ 1. The rediscovery of Nineveh was made by the very first known European traveller in the Near East, Benjamin son of Jonah, a Jewish rabbi of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre. In the 12th century (1160—1173)¹ he travelled to Palestine, from where he traversed the desert by way of Tadmor, crossed the Euphrates, and journeyed on to the Tigris, where he visited the Jews of Mosul: "Atque hæc urbs (Al-Mutsal, i. e. Mosul) Persiæ regni nunc initium est, amplitudinemque illam et magnitudinem antiquam retinet ad Hhidekel flumen sita, inter quam et Niniuen antiquam pons tantum interest: sed Niniue excisa funditus est: pagi tamen et castella multa sunt intra antiqui ambitus spatium."² A similar impression is recorded by Fra Ricoldo da Monte di Croce (Ricoldo Pennini) from a visit to Mosul in the spring of 1290 in his account of his travels:³ "Deinde verò longa spacia terrarum transeuntes, venimus ad *Niniuen*, ciuitatem grandem. Que grandis fuit longitudine, non latitudine; nam sita fuit in longum iuxta fluuium paradisi Tigridim. Ibi ostenderunt nobis montem, ubi stetit Ionas, et fontem, de quo bibebat. Unde et usque hodie dicitur fons Ione. Ipsa vero ciuitas totaliter subuersa est, et apparent signa et fortificia. Est autem nunc reedificata ex alia parte fluminis, et dicitur *Monsal* (i. e. Mosul)"⁴. On the other hand, no mention is made of ruins or ruined cities in the narratives recording Marco Polo's and "John Mandeville's"⁵

¹ Benjamin of Tudela's account was written in 1178, printed in Hebrew in 1543, Latin version in 1575.

² *Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis* . . . (1575), p. 58. The Bavarian Rabbi Pethahiah of Ratisbon († 1190) also visited Mesopotamia and in his reminiscences (published in Hebrew in 1595, Engl. ed. 1856) mentions that Nineveh is a heap of ruins, but does not localise it.

³ Published by Vincenzio Fineschi in 1793, see also *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi quatuor* . . . rec. J. C. M. Laurent (1864), pp. 101—141.

⁴ *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi quatuor* . . . (1864), pp. 123—24.

⁵ The name of Mandeville was probably fictitious.

journeys in Asia, in 1271—95 and 1322—56, respectively, despite their visits to Mosul and Baghdad.

About 400 years after Benjamin of Tudela, some time between 1573 and 1575, Leonhard Rauwolff of Augsburg, the Bavarian botanist and physician, spent several days in Mosul. He relates that a high round hill, directly outside the city, was entirely honeycombed, being inhabited by poor people. “An der stet und in der gegne hierumb, ist vor Jaren gelegen die mechtige Statt Nineve, welche . . . eine Zeitlang . . . die Hauptstatt in Assyrien gewesen”¹. Benjamin of Tudela’s and Rauwolff’s observations, which had both been printed when Abraham Ortelius published his great geographical work in 1596², presumably form the basis of the latter’s statement that certain writers identified Nineveh with Mosul, a version of the above-mentioned travellers’ accounts which is not quite correct.

The identification of the mounds of ruins near Mosul with ancient Nineveh was indeed supported by a vague local tradition, whereas owing to the almost universal ignorance in Europe of Arab geographers (e. g. Abu’-l-fidâ, Ibn Hauqal, Ya’qûbi, Ya’qût), their accurate indications of the position of ancient Mesopotamian cities remained unheeded until the sites had been identified. The rediscovery of Nineveh in the vicinity of Mosul was also made by the following travellers, though we cannot decide whether their observations are independent of those of their predecessors or are due to local tradition: Anthony Sherley (1599)³, John Cartwright (1601)⁴, Pietro della Valle (1616—25)⁵, and J. B. Tavernier (1644)⁶. Cartwright was the first to communicate a number of measurements and figures for the size of Nineveh. On the basis of his own observation of the remains of the city walls he arrived at the following result: “. . . it was built with foure sides, but not equall or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we ghesse) an hundred and fiftie furlongs; the two shorter sides, ninetie furlongs, which amounteth

¹ *Beschreibung der Reysz Leonhardi Rauwolffen* . . . (1582), p. 244.

² *Thesaurus geographicus* (1596).

³ *Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels in Persia* . . . (1613).

⁴ *The Preachers Travels* . . . (1611).

⁵ *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle* . . . descritti . . . in *54. Lettere famigliari* . . . all’erudito . . . Mario Schipano, diuisi in tre parti, cioè *La Turchia, La Persia e l’India* . . . I 1650, II 1658, III 1663.

⁶ *Les six voyages de J.-B. Tavernier* . . . (1676).

to foure hundred and eightie furlongs of ground, which makes threescore miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile. The walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might passe on the rampire in Front: these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundred Towers"¹. And as far as I know, Tavernier was the first to describe the mound of ruins known as Nabî Yûnus.

This clear recognition of the position of Nineveh was, however, called in question by Jean Otter², who was staying at Mosul in 1743; he identified Nineveh with Eski-Mosul, a ruin on the western side of the Tigris like Mosul, but considerably higher up the river. Otter, however, only gained one adherent, D. Sestini,³ who in 1781, with Basrah as his objective, travelled through the region around Mosul. The question as to the position of Nineveh was finally settled by the Dane Carsten Niebuhr,⁴ who in March 1766 on his way home from Bombay by way of Persepolis made a stay at Mosul. Niebuhr states very positively that the mounds he visited near the Tigris and opposite the city of Mosul were the ruins of Nineveh.⁵ And as the first traveller in the Near East he gave his contemporaries some idea of Nineveh, partly, by a sketch, of Mosul and the ruins in bird's eye view,⁶ partly of the large southern mound of Nabî Yûnus.⁷ Later publications of travellers who had visited Mosul (e. g. E. Ives ³/₇ 1758,⁸ G. A. Olivier 1793⁹) do not add anything new, and in 1779 one of France's most famous geographers, Jean Bourguignon d'Anville could establish as a fact that Nineveh had been situated opposite to the city of Mosul: "On sait que la rive opposée, ou la gauche du fleuve, conserve des vestiges de Nineve, et que la tradition sur la prédication de Jonas n'y est point oubliée."¹⁰

¹ Cited from *Hakluytus posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* ... II (1625), p. 1435.

² *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* ... (1748).

³ *Viaggio da Costantinopoli a Bassora* ... (1786).

⁴ *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (II, 1778).

⁵ *Ibid.* II, pp. 353 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* II, Tab. XLVI.

⁷ *Ibid.* II, Tab. XLVII b.

⁸ *A Voyage from England to India, in the year 1754* ... also *a Journey from Persia to England* ... (1773).

⁹ *Voyage dans l'empire othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse* ... (II, 1804).

¹⁰ *L'Euphrate et le Tigre* (1779), p. 88.

§ 2. Unlike the rediscovery of Nineveh, that of Babylon was a matter of great difficulty. Though it was not until about 500 years after the fall of Nineveh that Babylon became a desolate heap of ruins, there existed no local tradition about the position of the city which could be of aid to travellers or scholars.¹ Those who had only their own observation to guide them, were naturally induced by the gigantic ruin of °Aqar Qûf, about 10 miles west of Baghdad, and by the lofty ruins of Birs Nimrûd southwest of Hillah, to conjecture that in one of these places they were faced with the remains of the tower of the Marduk temple of Babylon or the Tower of Babel, as it is called in early books of travel.

1. °Aqar Qûf = the Tower of Babel, and as a consequence of this, the site of Babylon, was identified with that of Baghdad: Nicolo di Conti (1428—53),² L. Rauwolff (1574), Gasparo Balbi (1579—80),³ John Eldred (1583),⁴ Abraham Ortelius, *Thesaurus geographicus* (1596), A. Sherley (1599), J. Cartwright (1601), Th. Herbert,⁵ J. B. Tavernier (1644).

2. Birs Nimrûd = the Tower Babel: Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.),⁶ Vincenzo Maria di S. Catherina di Siena (1657).⁷

The first to point out the real site of ancient Babylon in the vicinity of Hillah was Pietro della Valle,⁸ who visited Bâbil, the northernmost mound of the ruins of Babylon, in the year 1616 (letters of the ¹⁰/₁₂ and ²³/₁₂ 1616, see I 1650). The great traveller describes Bâbil as a huge rectangular tower or pyramid with its corners pointing to the four cardinal points, and identifies the

¹ Several of the travellers to Babylon named below have been mentioned under Nineveh in § 1, to which the reader is referred concerning their printed publications.

² *Viaggio di Nicolo di Conti Venetiano scritto per Messer Poggio Fiorentino*, see *Primo volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* ... [A cura di G. B. Ramusio]. (Venetia 1550), pp. 365—71.

³ *Viaggio dell'Indie Orientali* ... (1590).

⁴ *The Voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria ... and from thence ... to Babylon and Balsara. 1583*, see R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* ... II (1599), pp. 268—71.

⁵ *A Relation of some yeares travaile, begunne Anno 1626. into Afrique and the greater Asia* ... (1634).

⁶ Rabbi Pethahiah, who also travelled in Mesopotamia in the 12th century (see p. 3²), states that he has visited Babylon's ruins and seen Nebuchadnezzar's palace, but as he does not localise any of these places we are no better off than before.

⁷ *Viaggio all'Indie Orientali* ... (1657); Vincenzo Maria visited Hillah on the 16.9.1657 without realising the importance of the place.

⁸ See p. 4⁵.

remains of this building with the Tower of Babel. We do not know when Emmanuel de Saint Albert (Emmanuel Ballyet 1700—1773) visited the Hillah district, but a manuscript account of his travels was submitted to the Duke of Orleans prior to 1755,¹ while in addition he had described his expedition to Babylonia in a letter to Pope Benedict XIV in 1754.² Emmanuel de Saint Albert paid a visit both the Bâbil and Birs Nimrûd and was of opinion that the former mound was the more likely to be the remnants of the Tower of Babel. His account of the ruins at Hillah, together with Pietro della Valle's description, forms the foundation on which J. B. d'Anville in 1761³ built when he indicated the position of ancient Babylon in the Hillah district.⁴ Prior to d'Anville's publication Jean Otter in 1748⁵, perhaps under the influence of Pietro della Valle, and referring to the Arab geographer Ya'qût, had located the ancient city of Babylon near Hillah, while at the same time he mentions a local tradition to the effect that 'Aqar Qûf was the burial place for the kings of the country.

The Dane Carsten Niebuhr, who with the Danish "Arabian expedition" departed from Copenhagen on the 7th January 1761, cannot have known d'Anville's publication, but during his stay in the Hillah district in December 1765 he, with his usual acumen and clear-sightedness, identified the part which the natives called *ard Babel* (the soil or land of Babylon) as the site of ancient Babylon: "Dass *Babylon* in der Gegend von Helle gelegen habe, daran ist gar kein Zweifel. Denn nicht nur die Einwohner nennen diese Gegend noch bis auf den heutigen Tag *Ard Babel*, sondern man findet hier auch noch Überbleibsel von einer alten Stadt."⁶ Niebuhr further pointed out the large ruin heaps close by the

¹ Cf. J. B. d'Anville, *Mémoire sur la position de Babylone* (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* XXVIII, 1761), p. 256: "Le P. Emmanuel de St. Albert, Carme déchaussé et vicaire Apostolique à Bagdad, dans une relation manuscrite de son voyage au Levant, que je dois à feu Mgr. le duc d'Orléans, parle pour avoir été sur le lieu (i. e. Babylon)." d'Anville's *Mémoire* . . . was delivered as a lecture as early as the 25.4.1755 at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

² Cf. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* . . . Nouv. éd. II (1843), s. v. Ballyet.

³ *Mémoire sur la position de Babylone* (1761), pp. 255 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 246 shows, on a map of the area south of Baghdad, Babylon north of Hillah, divided into two parts by the Euphrates, called "*Ædes regiæ*" and "*Templum Beli*".

⁵ See above, p. 52.

⁶ *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* . . . II (1778), pp. 287—88, cp. the fact that on Tab. XLI Babylon's ruins are placed north of Hillah.

eastern bank of the river as the probable site of the castle of Babylon and the hanging gardens. The results at which J. de Beauchamp (1784) and C. J. Rich (1811, 1817) were later to arrive in their studies on the site of ruined Babylon are based on the authority of d'Anville and Niebuhr.

It should be mentioned, however, that Carsten Niebuhr was the originator of an erroneous assumption. We have seen above that two travellers identified Birs Nimrûd with the Tower of Babel (p. 6); Niebuhr, who describes the place as follows: "Hier ist ein ganzer Hügel von den erwähnten schönen Mauersteinen, und oben auf demselben steht ein Thurm",¹ regards the building as the remnants of Herodotus' temple of Belus. And since he rediscovered Babylon in the Hillah district, Birs Nimrûd must thus have been lying within the precincts of ancient Babylon. This idea of a Greater Babylon, including what we now know was the neighbouring city of Borsippa, was adopted and elaborated in the 19th century by C. J. Rich, whose particular point of view we shall discuss below, by J. S. Buckingham (1816),² who even included the Al Uḥaimir (Kish) ruins, by R. Ker Porter (1818),³ who excludes Kish from the Greater Babylon area, by Robert Mignan (1827),⁴ who agreed with Buckingham, and in 1852 by the French *Expédition scientifique et artistique de Mésopotamie et de Médie*⁵ under the leadership of Fulgence Fresnel.

§ 3. It is a matter of course that detailed descriptions by travellers and scholars of the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, the finding of inscriptions on the site, and attempts at actual excavations, were of a very limited kind. And yet they form the foundation and inspiration for what was started in the year 1842 in the shape of systematic excavations, which have been continued to this day, 112 years later, with unflagging diligence. The period of investigation before 1842 was especially hampered by the fact that the writing and language of the inscriptions were not understood, and that the topographical foundation consisted of scattered information in classical authors.

¹ *Ibid.* II (1778), p. 289.

² *Travels in Mesopotamia* ... (1827).

³ *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* ... (1821—22).

⁴ *Travels in Chaldæa* ... (1829).

⁵ J. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie* ... (1859—63).

1. Nineveh: J. Cartwright's explorations and measurements and Carsten Niebuhr's sketches of the ruins and of Nabî Yûnus were mentioned above. J. Macdonald Kinneir, who was attached to General Malcolm's mission to the Persian Court, visited Mosul in 1810, accompanied by Captain Edward Frederick of the Royal Navy; two years previously they had together investigated the ruins at Hillah. As a result of this, Kinneir some years later published a brief account of the mounds near Mosul,¹ while Edward Frederick gave a special description of the ruins of Babylon.² On the 31st October, 1820, the English resident of the East India Company at Baghdad, Claudius James Rich (1787—1821), arrived at Mosul with Carl Bellino (see p. 44), his secretary, then mortally ill, and spent four months there. The experience he had gained through his work among the ruins of Babylon, to be dealt with below, enabled him to furnish an admirable contribution to the topography of Nineveh,³ a contribution which was to become of fundamental importance for the great excavation expeditions after 1842. When in 1852 Felix Jones⁴ prepared a survey and a plan of Nineveh, it was merely a supplement to Rich's investigations he produced; he says about Rich: "His survey (of Nineveh) will be found as correct as the most diligent enthusiast can desire." Rich visited and sketched with plans every one of the great mounds which must be assumed to have constituted part of ancient Nineveh. The first of the mounds he explored was that known among the natives as Nabî Yûnus, because it was supposed to contain the tomb of the prophet Jonah; here he ascertained that a merely cursory examination by means of the spade would uncover inscriptions written in cuneiform characters, and obtained from the natives the famous

¹ *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire* ... (1813), pp. 258—59: "the wall is, on the average, twenty feet in height", and dealing with the mound of Kuyunjik he says: "forming an oblong square not exceeding four miles in compass"; on the relation of his visit to Hillah, cf. *ibid.* pp. 272—82.

² *Account of the present compared with the ancient state of Babylon* (Transactions of the Bombay Society 1813, pp. 120—139).

³ *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh* (1836), published posthumously by his widow; cf. also Rich's letter dated 5.12.1820 to Silvestre de Sacy, published in *Journal des Savants*, avril 1822, pp. 237—41.

⁴ *Topography of Nineveh* (JRAS XV (1855), pp. 297—397, with six magnificently executed maps), and *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh* (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, New Series No. XLIII (1857): *Memoirs by Commander James Felix Jones*, pp. 435 ff.).

Sennacherib Cylinder.¹ Subsequently Rich transferred his investigations to Kuyunjik and drafted a plan of it, went down the river and studied the mound of Nimrûd (March 1821).² In each of the villages visited by Rich, he found cuneiform inscriptions; those which could be easily transported he bought for his collection,³ but many were of a monumental character, being cut into stones which the Arabs had used for the erection of their miserable hovels.

2. Babylon: Pietro della Valle, who also visited Persepolis and from there, as we shall learn, brought to the knowledge of European scholars the first examples of cuneiform script, was the first European "excavator" in Mesopotamia. In § 2 mention is made of his visit, in 1616, to Bâbil, which he described as the most wonderful thing he had ever seen; he had an artist make a sketch of the mound, on which he found inscribed bricks, and some of these he brought back with him to Rome. Other such bricks he brought home from his stay in 1625 at Muqayyar, Ur of the Chaldees (letter of Aug. 5, 1625, see III 1663); some of the bricks he had collected he presented to Athanasius Kircher, who later wrote a learned account of the Tower of Babel.⁴ These bricks were sundried, and this appeared to Pietro della Valle so peculiar that he dug at several places into the mass with pickaxes to make sure of his first impression. During this "excavation" he ascertained that in places which served as supports these bricks were baked, though they were of the same size as the others. Emmanuel de Saint Albert, mentioned in § 2, also collected inscribed bricks on Bâbil some time in the first half of the 18th century: "Les caractères que le P. Emmanuel dit, dans sa relation, être imprimés sur les briques qui restent de bâtisses aussi anciennes que peuvent être celles de Babylone, seroient pour

¹ BM 22502, the so-called Bellino Cylinder, as Carl Bellino made a copy of the inscription, which Rich sent to Grotefend, who published it in *Abhl. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* (1850); republished by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the cuneiform character* ... (1851), Pls. 63—64.

² C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* ... (1836), II, p. 130 gives a facsimile of writing from Nimrûd.

³ In this was also included a large number of oriental manuscripts (c. 800, for details see H. V. Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* (1904), p. 35¹), which were catalogued in *Fundgruben des Orients* III—IV (1813—14), where also (III, 1813) Rich published a translation of the Arabic legend: *The Story of the Seven Sleepers*.

⁴ *Turris Babel* ... (1679).

les Savans qui veulent pénétrer dans l'antiquité la plus reculée une matière toute nouvelle de méditation et d'étude".¹

On July 6th, 1781, J. de Beauchamp left Marseille with the object of making astronomical observations at Baghdad; prior to 1786 he had visited Hillah twice: "... j'ai passé deux fois à Hella, lieu de l'ancienne Babylone, et ... je sois allé visiter les ruines ou plutôt les montagnes de briques qui se trouvent encore actuellement."² The results of these two visits, the first of which took place in 1784,³ were recorded by Beauchamp 1790 after his return to Paris;⁴ on Bâbil, which he often, using the name employed by the Arabs, calls Makloubé or Makloubet,⁵ "se trouvent ces briques larges et épaisses empreintes d'une écriture inconnue dont j'ai apporté des échantillons à M. l'Abbé Barthelemy."⁶ But his most important investigations took place on Qasr, to which Niebuhr (see § 2) had previously called attention: "Ces ruines s'étendent à plusieurs lieues au nord de Hella, et décèlent incontestablement, la situation de l'ancienne Babylone. J'ai fait travailler pendant 3 heures deux hommes pour déterrer un bloc qu'ils croyaient une idole." In this excavation, the first in Mesopotamia for which paid native workmen under the leadership of a "maître Mâçon" from Hillah were purposely employed, the object was the great stone sculpture known as the Lion of Babylon, which the natives had found in 1776. Furthermore, Beauchamp described parts of the Ishtar Portal, which he takes to be the wall of a palace chamber: "Le même Mâçon m'a dit avoir trouvé une chambre sur un mur de laquelle il y avait une vache formée avec des briques vernies, et l'image du soleil et de la lune, on y trouve quelquefois des idoles d'argile représentant des figures humaines; j'y ai trouvé moi-même une brique sur laquelle était un lion, et sur d'autres une demi-lune

¹ J. B. d'Anville, *Mémoire sur la position de Babylone* (1761), p. 259.

² Letter of the 20.10.1786 to Maréchal de Castries, publ. by V. Scheil, *RA X* (1913), pp. 11 f.

³ *Journal des Sçavans*, mai 1785, pp. 852 ff.

⁴ *Mémoire sur les Antiquités babyloniennes qui se trouve aux environs de Bagdad* (*Journal des Sçavans*, décembre 1790, pp. 797—806), reprinted by V. Scheil, *RA X* (1913), pp. 185—193.

⁵ Or rather *Muquailiba*, popularly pronounced *Mujêliba*; this term also in Beauchamp often includes Qasr: "cet endroit (i. e. Qasr) et la montagne de Babel (i. e. Bâbil) sont vulgairement appellés par les Arabes, Makloubé."

⁶ Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716—1795), the founder of Phœnician and Aramaic epigraphy; his observations on the cuneiform writing will be discussed below.

en relief." Beauchamp finally mentions the finding of solid cylinders covered with very small writing: "outre les briques écrites d'ont j'ai parlé, il se trouve des cylindres massifs de 3 pouces de diamètre, d'une matière blanche, chargés d'une écriture très-menue, ressemblante aux inscriptions de Persepolis que Chardin¹ a rapportées."

In the letter of Oct. 20th, 1786, quoted above on p. 11² unpublished until 1913, Beauchamp likewise mentions the similarity to the Persepolitan inscriptions published by Chardin; whether he was uninfluenced by J. J. Barthélemy on this point must remain an open question,² but already in 1762 the latter had declared concerning the cuneiform inscription on the Caylus Vase: "Les caractères en sont les mêmes que ceux de Persépolis."³ Beauchamp's activities on Qasr were hampered to some extent by the natives, "qui ne voyent jamais volontiers les Européens fouiller les terrains qu'ils occupent", a remark the truth of which the great expeditions after 1842 were also to experience, both in relation to the natives and to the Turkish administration. "Mais il faudrait payer la cupidité des Musulmans", says Beauchamp. The inscribed bricks brought home by him to Paris as well as his travelling account from 1790,⁴ which contains amongst other things the first accurate description of the giant ruin of El Tak-Kesré (i. e. Ctesiphon) south of Baghdad, were translated into English and German⁵ and created a great sensation among scholars, especially in England, as we shall see below.

There is no doubt that Beauchamp's description of the site with the ruins of Babylon and the inscriptions found there must be designated as the portal leading to the wide field of Assyriology,

¹ Cf. *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* III (1711), p. 118.

² In a note on Beauchamp's letter to Maréchal de Castries (see p. 11²) Barthélemy (see *RA* X (1913), p. 12) merely mentions Beauchamp's correct observation: "Ces caractères sont certainement les mêmes que ceux de Persépolis, ainsi que M. Beauchamp l'a reconnu."

³ Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* V (1762), p. 82. The text is written by Caylus, who quotes Barthélemy's words after a comparative examination of the inscription on the Caylus Vase and the Persepolitan inscriptions of *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales* II (1718), p. 273.

⁴ *Journal des Sçavans*, décembre 1790, pp. 797—806.

⁵ English translation in *European Magazine* XXI (1792), pp. 338—42, German version in S. S. Witte, *Vertheidigung des Versuchs über den Ursprung der Pyramiden in Egypten und der Ruinen von Persepolis* ... (1792), pp. 251—273.

for a systematic collection of inscriptions followed in the wake of his report of 1790. But precisely because a subsequent description of ancient Babylon was of such a negative character, added initiative was required, viz. that of C. J. Rich, before the actual hour of the birth of Assyriology came. In 1793 the famous French naturalist Guillaume Antoine Olivier visited the Hillah region, and he reports that it was quite useless to try to ascertain which were the actual ruins of ancient Babylon: "Le sol sur lequel elle (i. e. Babylon) fut assise . . . ne présente, au premier aspect, aucune trace de ville: il faut le parcourir en entier pour remarquer quelques buttes, quelques légères élévations, pour voir que la terre a été presque partout remuée. Là, des Arabes sont occupés, depuis plus de douze siècles, à fouiller la terre et retirer les briques dont ils ont bâti en grande partie Cufa, Bagdad . . . Hellé, et presque toutes les villes qui se trouvent dans ces contrées."¹ Beauchamp also mentioned that the Arabs made "excavations" to procure building bricks: "faire les fouilles pour en tirer les briques", and in the description of the ruin heaps of the Mosul region quoted above, the same hunt for bricks is mentioned (p. 10), a deplorable fact, which was to place many obstacles in the way of future excavation expeditions.

C. J. Rich paid his first visit, lasting for about 10 days, to Babylon in December 1811. During this short time he made a more thorough examination of the ruins of Babylon than any one had till then made, and while mapping the whole area of ruins from Bâbil to Qumquma, popularly pronounced Jumjuma, he made Captain Abraham Lockett² draw a plan of it according to his instructions. In addition, he employed ten workmen to make regular excavations on Mujêliba (Bâbil) in order to investigate the underground cavities which appeared among the ruins, collected inscribed bricks, contracts, a Nebuchadnezzar cylinder, a fragment of a *kudurru*, and cylinder seals. The publication of his results, comprising the plan of the site of the ruins of Babylon, accompanied by twelve sketches of

¹ *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse* . . . II (1804), p. 436.

² Notable members of the British Residency in Baghdad were, besides C. J. Rich and his wife Mary Rich, the physician Dr. John Hine, Captain Abraham Lockett, who had the military command, and from 29.6.1815 Carl Bellino, who in Triest was chosen to be secretary to Rich during the latter's journey in Europe. Rich accompanied by Bellino was back again in Baghdad on the 16.3.1816.

ruins (4 of Mujêlîba (Bâbil), 4 of Birs Nimrûd, 3 of Qasr, and a general view seen from the Euphrates) and copies of the collected material of inscriptions,¹ marks the hour when Assyriology saw the light. In 1817, in company with Bellino, he paid another visit to Babylon and carefully rechecked his theories and topography;² these results of his exhaust all possibilities of inference without excavation on a grand scale. In his own generation his two publications caused a great sensation among scholars as well as laymen; an echo is traceable in Byron's *Don Juan* V 62 (1821).

But actually it was Robert Ker Porter's interesting drawings³ which opened the door to ancient Mesopotamia to the general cultured public in England and on the Continent. Ker Porter had already achieved fame in England when on October 14th, 1818, he arrived at Baghdad, where he was well received by Rich, who let his secretary Bellino accompany him to Babylon, Birs Nimrûd, Al Uḥaimir (Kish), and 'Aqar Qûf. Ker Porter had previously visited Persepolis and by copying inscriptions rendered great services to cuneiform research. In Mesopotamia, his contribution mainly consists in the accurate reproductions, from an artist's point of view, of the then famous ruins of antiquity before any excavation by European investigators had taken place. But, he also furnished a plan of the whole area of the ruins of Babylon, and he was the first to form a correct conception of the use and general occurrence of the Mesopotamian temple tower, the ziggurat: "I should suppose the mass we now see to be no more than the base of some loftier superstructure, probably designed for the double use of a temple and an observatory; a style of sacred edifice common with the Chaldeans, and likely to form the principal object in every city and town devoted to the idolatry of Belus and the worship of the stars."

C. J. Rich's excellent mapping of Babylon and his estimation of the secular as well as the sacred buildings of the individual areas at the time of Nebuchadnezzar were met with critical

¹ *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, published in *Fundgruben des Orients (Mines de l'Orient)*, hrsg. v. Joseph von Hammer, III (Wien 1813), pp. 129—162, 197—200; republished by James Mackintosh, London 1815, ²1816, ³1818.

² *Second Memoir on Babylon* ... London 1818. The two *Memoirs* were reprinted and edited by his widow with the title: *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811 ... Second Memoir on the ruins* ... London 1839.

³ *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* ... (1821—22).

arguments from James Rennell,¹ after the death of Joseph Banks (1820) the acknowledged head of British geographers. In Rich's *Second Memoir on Babylon* (1818), in which Rennell's treatise was reprinted, we can follow their opposed views. The most essential difference was that at his first visit Rich had received a profound and lasting impression of the gigantic ruin of Birs Nimrûd: "The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy clouds separating, [we] discovered the Birs frowning over the plain and presenting the appearance of a circular hill, crowned by a tower, with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. Its being entirely concealed from our view, during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea, in general so prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who visit the Pyramids. Just as we were within the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight, in the midst of rolling masses of thick black clouds partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the background, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the wastes in which this venerable ruin stands."² To Rich, Birs Nimrûd therefore was, and continued to be, the Tower of Babel, an idea which he maintained in spite of its inconsistency with all the topographical evidence concerning Babylon set forth by himself. James Rennell, however, localised the Tower of Belus to the mound of Bâbil.

In this view he was later supported by Robert Mignan;³ the latter left Basrah at the end of October, 1827, and partly walking partly riding in a native *turrâda* on the river, was the first after Pietro della Valle to explore the interior of southern Babylonia. Theoretically Mignan rejects the idea that Birs Nimrûd may be the Tower of Belus, since all classical authors agree in placing this in the middle of the town, but at the same time he attempts in practice, through actual excavations on Qasr, to get a clue to the topography of the place. In these excavations, the first and

¹ *Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon* ... (1816), also published in *Archaeologia* XVIII (1817), pp. 243—62, read 14.12 and 21.12.1815.

² *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811* ... (1839), p. 74.

³ *Travels in Chaldæa, including a Journey from Bussorah to Bagdad, Hillah and Babylon, performed on foot in 1827* ... (1829).

last after those of Rich in 1811 before the beginning of the great excavations in 1842, Mignan employed no less than 30 workmen to clear away the rubbish along the western face of a large pilaster. In this way an area of 12 sq. feet to a depth of 20 feet was removed, revealing a well preserved platform consisting of inscribed bricks c. 20 sq. inches in size. The finds from Mignan's excavations constituted four cylinder seals, three engraved gems, several copper and silver coins, one of which dated from the time of Alexander the Great. On the east side of Qasr, near a well preserved wall of an unexplored passage, he found an inscribed barrel cylinder in situ, the first one excavated by a European. In connection with Mignan's finds it should be mentioned that in 1824 George Thomas Keppel, Lord Albemarle,¹ on his return journey from Persia not far from Seleucia noticed a statue which according to the description resembled the Gudea statues that later, after 1877, were to come to light during de Sarzec's excavations at Telloh.

As a consequence of C. J. Rich's pioneer investigations (see above pp. 9 f., 13 ff.) the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon attracted the whole interest of investigators at the dawn of Mesopotamian archaeology. But in conclusion it should be mentioned that in the period from Robert Mignan's excavations at Qasr (1827) till the first spadeful of earth was dug up on Kuyunjik (December 1842), several other *tells* in Mesopotamia, representing ancient ruins, were observed by interested travellers, and their references to them proved to be of great importance in the future, as it prepared the way for later regular excavations in the places observed. Following in Mignan's steps, and employing a similar simple mode of travelling as he did (see above p. 15), J. Baillie-Fraser² within the period December 24th, 1834—January 22nd, 1835, explored the interior of southern Babylonia in company with Dr. John Ross of the Baghdad Residency, visiting i. a. Warka (Uruk), Senkereh (Larsa), Jôkha (Umma), Muqayyar (Ur), and Tell Şifr (Kutalla). In the period March 16th to October 28th, 1836, the Euphrates and the Tigris were navigated by the so-called British Euphrates Expedition under the leader-

¹ *Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria, Media and Scythia . . .* (1827).

² *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc. . . .* II (1840), pp. 1—165.

ship of Colonel Fr. R. Chesney. As the Suez Canal was not yet in existence, England examined the possibilities of a shorter way of communication with India from the Mediterranean across the present Syria and via the rivers Euphrates or Tigris to the Persian Gulf. The difficulties of navigation in connection with Russia's protest to the Porte, and the exhausted funds of the Expedition resulted in the abandonment of the aim of the expedition as well as the whole scheme itself. From the accounts published by William F. Ainsworth,¹ surgeon and geologist to the Expedition, and a passionate archaeologist, it appears that like Baillie-Fraser he had observed Warka, Senkereh, Jôkha, Muqayyar, and Tell Şifr, and that in 1838 he visited Ka'at Sharḳât (Assur) for the first time. Rich had passed this later so important field of excavation in a *kelek* down the Tigris on March 6th, 1821, but without being able to land; it was, no doubt, observed more closely for the first time by John Ross² in 1836 on his way to Hatrah; on April 20th, 1840, Ainsworth revisited the imposing site of the ruins in company with Christian Rassam and two young travellers, Edward Ledwich Mitford³ and Austin Henry Layard, who in 1839 had left England for India, and had arrived at Mosul on April 10th, 1840. On his journey from Mosul to Baghdad, Layard passed the ruins of Nimrûd, which Rich visited in March, 1821 (see above p. 10), like Rich sailing down the Tigris in a small *kelek*. Layard says: "It was evening as we approached the spot. The spring rains had clothed the mound with the richest verdure, and the fertile meadows, which stretched around it, were covered with flowers of every hue."⁴ The sight of Nimrûd's ruined ziggurat with its conical peak burnt itself into his mind; he and Mitford reached Hamadân on their onward journey, and Layard was able to study the cuneiform inscriptions at Bihistûn. But on the 8th August, 1840, the two friends parted company at Hamadân, Mitford to go to India, Layard, stimulated by the sight of the Bihistûn

¹ *Notes of an excursion to Ka'ah Sherḳat, the Ur of the Persians, and to the ruins of Al-Haḍr, the Hutra of the Chaldees, and Hatra of the Romans* (JRGS XI (1841), pp. 1—20); cp. also *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (1888).

² *Notes on two journeys from Baghdad to the ruins of Al-Haḍr in Mesopotamia in 1836 and 1837* (JRGS IX (1839), pp. 443—70).

³ *A Land March from England to Ceylon forty years ago . . .* (1884).

⁴ *Nineveh and its Remains . . . I* (1849), p. 7.

inscription, to return westward to the region around Mosul, whose ruins had entirely captivated him: "These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression on me, gave rise to more serious thoughts and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec, and the theatres of Ionia."¹

§ 4. However, real insight into the ancient Assyro-Babylonian cultures could only be gained by systematic excavations of the ruins in connection with a knowledge of the characters and the language of the inscriptions. This knowledge is inseparably associated with the history of the Persepolitan inscriptions in scientific research. In the reign of Shah Abbas I (1587—1629), when Ispahan became the seat of the Government, Persia experienced a brilliant period of ascendancy which made European courts try to establish commercial relations with the government of the country through their merchants and ambassadors. And by the latter, knowledge of ancient Persian remains and antiquities was carried to European learned circles. Already before that time the Venetian ambassador Giosafat Barbaro (1472)² had with admiration mentioned the magnificent ruins of Takht-i-Jamshîd³ 40 miles northeast of Shîrâz, besides the bas-reliefs at Naqsh-i-Rustam, situated 3 miles farther off, and the ruins at Murghâb (Pasargadae) 30 miles to the northeast.

Antonio de Gouuea (1602),⁴ the first ambassador of Philip III of Spain and Portugal to the court of Abbas I, gives an indifferent and rather confused description of Takht-i-Jamshîd, but he was the first to notice the writing which he saw in many places at Takht-i-Jamshîd; he ascertained that it was unlike that of the Persians, Arabs, Armenians, and Jews. The succeeding

¹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

² His itinerary was published by Antonio Manuzio in 1543 in a collection of itineraries to the Middle East with the title: *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India . . .* (Vinegia, Aldus, 1543), pp. 24—64: *Viaggio dello istesso Messer Iosaphat Barbaro in Persia.*

³ For centuries known in the neighbourhood as Čehil-Minâr, "Forty Minarets (or Pillars)", this name being found in various versions with the first observers on the site, e. g. Cilminar (Barbaro), Chelminira (Gouuea), Chilminara (Don Garcia), Chimilnar (*Philosophical Transactions* 1666), Chahelminar (Flower), Chilminar (Bruin), Tschil minâr (Niebuhr).

⁴ *Relaçam em que se tratam as gverras e grandes victorias qve alcançou o grãde Rey da Persia Xá Abbás do grão Turco Mahometto, e seu filho Amethe . . .* (Lisboa 1611).

Spanish ambassador, Don Garcia Silva Figveroa (1617)¹ was the first to identify the ruins of Takht-i-Jamshid with Darius' palace of Persepolis, i. a. drawing on the description of it by Diodorus Siculus XVII 70—72. As to the writing of the inscriptions, he states that he had never seen the like of it; it was unlike the Chaldean, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek writing, it was triangular but long, of the form of a pyramid or a little obelisk, so the characters did not differ in any respect from each other but in their placing and situation. Of the actual area of the ruins Don Garcia gives a detailed description, and he had an artist make drawings on the spot, amongst others of a complete line of an inscription, but none of these were published.

It was Pietro della Valle, who in a letter dated the 21st October, 1621, took a survey of the Persepolis ruins, striking out a new path for the rest of the century, and in the same letter² he for the first time confronted European scholars with the Persepolitan writing through an inaccurate copy of five characters, which afterwards proved to be part of the Achaemenian royal title, the "King of kings". Pietro della Valle states that these characters are those which occur most frequently in the Persepolitan inscriptions, and adds that he thinks that they should be read "dalla sinistra alla destra al modo nostro". In a letter dated the 5th August, 1625,³ he describes the characters on the inscribed bricks collected by him at Muqayyar in southern Babylonia (see above p. 10) in words recalling Don Garcia's description of those from Persepolis: unknown characters, which seem to be very old, and in appearance resembling lying pyramids. But he does not correlate the Babylonian with the Persepolitan characters, possibly because one of the Babylonian characters, which he describes as a star with eight rays of light, is not known from Persepolis.

Before Pietro della Valle's Persepolitan observations were published in 1658, Thomas Herbert (1626—27)⁴, who was in the

¹ *De rebus Persarum Epistola V. Kal. an. M.DC.XIX. Spahani exarata ad Marchionem Bedmarii* ... (Antverpiae 1620).

² *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle* ... II₂ (1658), p. 286.

³ *Ibid.* III (1663).

⁴ *A Relation of some yeares travaile, begunne 1626. into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the Territories of the Persian Monarchie* ... (1634); ²1638, ³1665, ⁴1677.

service of Sir Dodmore Cotton, the British ambassador in Persia, had appended to the record of his travels published in 1634 (as also to the 2nd edition 1638) an engraving of the ruins, which is the first general view ever taken of Persepolis in modern times. But this drawing is amazingly incorrect, and the same applies to the new drawing of the ruins, engraved by Holler, which Herbert published in his travelling report, 3rd edition, 1665, after studying Pietro della Valle and conferring with one Mr. Skinner, who had recently returned from Persia. But the engraving published by Joh. Albr. v. Mandelslo (1638),¹ which was to illustrate his description of Persepolis, is not satisfactory, either.

Of the inscriptions, which, as well as the monuments, according to Herbert were fast approaching annihilation owing to the natives' destruction and theft, he gives the following description: "very faire and apparent to the eye, but so mysticall, so odly framed, as no Hieroglyphick, no other deep conceit can be more difficultly fancied, more adverse to the intellect. These consisting of Figures, obelisk, triangular, and pyramidall, yet in such Simmetry and order as cannot well be called barbarous. Some resemblance, I thought some words had of the Antick Greek, shadowing out *Ahashuerus Theos*. And though it have small concordance with the Hebrew, Greek or Latine letter, yet questionlesse to the Inventer it was well knowne."² Here the writing of the inscriptions is compared with known alphabets, especially the Greek, a comparison which in the 18th century was extended to comprise such diverse kinds of writing as the Chinese (E. Kaempfer 1712³, C. G. von Murr 1777⁴, R. E. Raspe 1791⁵), the Ogham script of Ireland (A. Court de Gébelin⁶), the Egyptian hieroglyphs (A. C. Ph. Comte de Caylus 1762⁷). J. A. Mandelslo, however, refrained from every comparison, but was

¹ A member of the embassy sent by Frederik III, Duke of Gottorp, to Persia; his *Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung* ... (Schlesw. 1658) was published by the secretary to the embassy Adam Olearius, who did not visit Persepolis himself.

² *Some yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* ... Revised and enlarged ... (1638), pp. 145—46.

³ *Amoenitates exoticae* ... (1712), p. 331.

⁴ *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* ... IV (1777), p. 137.

⁵ *A descriptive catalogue of a general collection of ancient and modern engraved gems* ... (1791).

⁶ *Monde primitif* ... III (1775), p. 506.

⁷ *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes* ... V (1762), pp. 79 f.

the first to make the correct observation, later confirmed by Daulier-Deslandes, that the inscriptions had originally either been inlaid or decorated with gold: "... an etlichen Marmeln Taffeln waren seltzame Charactern oder Schrifft eingegraben, die niemand lesen kan, die Buchstaben gehen fast alle oben spitz zu, und stehen auff breiten Füßen, es scheint, als wenn sie mit Golde eingelegt gewesen wären."¹

The first fairly accurate engraving of the palaces of Persepolis was published in 1673 by André Daulier-Deslandes, a young French artist who accompanied J. B. Tavernier on his sixth journey to Persia, visiting Persepolis in company with M. Thévenot in May, 1665. However, the apparently copied inscription² in the engraving is no accurate copy, but only gives three of the Persepolitan characters in varying positions, probably to convey an impression of the decorative effect of this writing. That Daulier-Deslandes's engraving, which according to him represented a temple, not a palace, though published on too small a scale to allow actual details to be seen, aroused great interest, is seen i. a. from the fact that it was reproduced without permission in a German folio edition of Pietro della Valle's travels.³ Moreover Daulier-Deslandes's book on Persia was much read at the end of the 17th century and contributed largely to stimulating the interest in the antiquity of that country. And it is reasonable to assume that his "inscription" with its greatly decorative effect is responsible for the theory, put forward in the 18th century, that the inscriptions expressed no meaning at all, but merely served decorative purposes (Th. Hyde 1700, 1760;⁴ F. B. Tandeau 1762;⁵ S. S. Witte 1789;⁶ 1792;⁷ 1799.⁸)

Probably prompted by the descriptions published by Don Garcia in 1620, Herbert in 1638, and Pietro della Valle in 1658,

¹ *Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung* ... (1658), p. 14.

² *Les beautez de la Perse ... par le Sieur A. D. D. V[erendômois]* ... (1673), p. 60, Pl. I₂.

³ Genff 1674, III p. 130; another reprint is seen in G. F. Gemelli-Careri, *Giro del mondo* II (1699), p. 260.

⁴ *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* ... (1700, ²1760).

⁵ *Dissertation sur l'écriture hiéroglyphique* (1762).

⁶ *Ueber den Ursprung der Pyramiden in Egypten und der Ruinen von Persepolis* (1789).

⁷ *Vertheidigung des Versuchs über den Ursprung der Pyramiden* ... (1792).

⁸ *Über die Bildung der Schriftsprache und den Ursprung d. keilförmig. Inschriften zu Persepolis* (1799).

the British Royal Society in 1666 issued a series of inquiries relative to the antiquities of various countries; one of these (Persia. 3.) runs as follows: "Whether, there being already good Descriptions in Words of the Excellent Pictures and Basse Relieves, that are about *Persepolis* at *Chimilnar*, yet none very particular; some may not be found sufficiently skill'd, in those parts, that might be engaged to make a Draught of the Place, and the Stories there pictured and carved?"¹ There were two results of this query, and both of them contributed to our knowledge of the "Stories there pictured and carved" mentioned by the Royal Society. In 1666 our knowledge of these was restricted to the five characters published by Pietro della Valle in 1658, and from what the travellers had said about the inscriptions, everybody was aware that these five characters did not represent an inscription in its entirety.

In the fourth improved and enlarged edition of his travelling account of 1677,² Sir Thomas Herbert (1606–82) advanced some new views concerning the Persepolitan writing, and in conclusion gives an apparently three-lined inscription. It was mentioned above (p. 19) that at the age of twenty Herbert visited Persia in company with the British ambassador, and that he published an account of the journey, which appeared in several editions (see p. 19⁴). After 1627 he did not visit Persia; he was a member of Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil War; was taken into the household of Charles I, to whom he became much attached; was latterly his only attendant; and was with him on the scaffold. At the Restoration he was made a baronet. But why did not Herbert publish the three-line inscription in the first three editions (1634, 1638, 1665) of his travelling account, in which, especially in the 2nd edition (see above p. 20), the Persepolitan writing is discussed? It is a most peculiar problem which confronts us here; considering the interest evinced by European scholars in Persepolis and its inscriptions, ever since the appearance of Gouuea's travel account (1611), it seems strange that fifty years elapsed before Herbert found the three-line inscription from 1627 among his notes. The above-cited request of the Royal

¹ *Philosophical Transactions* I. For Anno 1665, and 1666, p. 420.

² *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great . . .* (1677), pp. 142 f.

Society of 1666 must have induced Herbert to re-examine his material of notes. That it is his own copy from 1627, is beyond doubt, for it bears no resemblance to Daulier-Deslandes's "inscription" from 1673 or Pietro della Valle's five characters from 1658, the only two previously published reproductions of Persepolitan characters.

It is interesting, and certainly compels admiration, that the quite young Herbert, with Don Garcia's report in an English translation¹ as his only aid to any knowledge of the Persepolis inscriptions, as early as 1627 made a copy, but unfortunately the copy is not particularly good, and it is not a three-line inscription, but the first two lines are derived from one, the third line from another of Naksh-i-Rustam's inscriptions. Considered and understood as a separate inscription, it could thus only confuse the learned investigators of the new writing, and moreover the partially incorrect rendering of the characters made it useless. Herbert's three lines were reprinted without permission as a two-line inscription by G. F. Gemelli-Careri,² who in 1694 visited Persia on his journey around the world from June 13, 1693—December 3, 1699. As regards Persepolis, he copied Pietro della Valle, Herbert, and Daulier-Deslandes, whose engraving of the ruins he "borrowed" (see p. 21³) as also Herbert's inscription. But Gemelli-Careri's book was favourite reading in the 18th century and contributed greatly to keeping alive the interest in Persepolis and its inscriptions.

As regards Herbert's considerations concerning the Persepolitan script we note in the 1677-publication a different view from that put forward in 1638 (see p. 20); after a comparison with twelve other alphabets, he says about the Persian characters: "I could not perceive that these had the least resemblance or coherence with any of them: which is very strange." Herbert is of opinion that the prophet Daniel, who probably instructed the architect of the palace and supervised its erection, was able to read the inscriptions: "they bear the resemblance of pyramids inverted or with bases upwards, Triangles or Delta's or (if I may so compare them) with the Lamed in the Samaritan Alphabet,

¹ See *Hakluytus Posthumus, or [Samuel] Purchas his Pilgrimes. In five bookes* ... II (1625), pp. 1533—34.

² *Giro del mondo* II (1699), p. 260, Fig. 1.

which is writ the contrary way to the same letter in the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew*"; of his former idea of a resemblance to Greek he is now silent. Perhaps he merely adopts the view held by Pietro della Valle when he says: "... by the posture and tendency of some of the Characters (which consist of several magnitudes) it may be supposed that this writing was rather from the left hand to the right, as the *Armenian* and *Indian* do at this day." But in his characterisation of the writing he is entirely independent, in a way prophetic, if we consider the Assyro-Babylonian ideograms and his term brachyography, even though the Persian script is alphabetic-syllabic: "The Characters are of a strange and unusual shape; neither like Letters nor Hieroglyphicks; yea so far from our deciphering them that we could not so much as make any positive judgment whether they were words or Characters; albeit I rather incline to the first, and that they comprehended words or syllables, as in Brachyography or Short-writing we familiarly practise."¹

The other result of the request of the Royal Society was due to an agent of the East India Company, Samuel Flower. In November 1667 he copied Sassanian, Greek, and Arabic inscriptions at Nocturestand, i. e. Naḵsh-i-Rustam, and then continued by copying the Chahelminar (Persepolis) inscriptions. Unfortunately Flower died in Syria before publishing his results; this was done, though only in part, in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1693² by a friend of his, Francis Ashton, who added an informative letter. From this it appears that Flower complied with the request of the Royal Society and "spent a great deal of Time and Money" on taking copies of the monuments in Naḵsh-i-Rustam and Persepolis. But his sudden death "left his Draughts and Papers dispersed in several hands, one part whereof you have here, the rest its hoped may in some time be recovered, if Sir *John Chardin*'s exact and accurate Publication of the entire Work do not put a period to all further Curiosity . . ." It is not

¹ *Some Years Travels* . . . (1677), pp. 141 f.

² *Philosophical Transactions*. For the year 1693. Vol. XVII (1694), Numb. 201, June 1693, pp. 775—76: A Letter from Mr. F. A. Esq; R. S. S. to the Publisher, with a Paper of Mr. S. Flowers containing the Exact Draughts of several unknown Characters, taken from the Ruines of Persepolis; pp. 776—77: An Exact Draught or Copy of several Characters engraven in Marble at the Mountains of Nocturestand and Chahelminar in Persia, as they were taken in November 1667. By Mr. S. Flower.

clear to what Ashton refers when he mentions Chardin's publication; we know that Chardin visited Persepolis (and Naksh-e Rostam) in 1666, 1667, and 1674, that is to say in one of these years simultaneously with Flower, but his brilliant work, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, with its twenty-three magnificent copper plates made of Persepolis from the drawings of G. J. Grélot, was not published until 1711, 18 years after Ashton's letter to the *Philosophical Transactions*. In 1793 A. J. Silvestre de Sacy¹ suggested that Flower's "inscription" from 1693 was due to Chardin, from whom Flower had "borrowed" it, but Ashton's words seem rather to indicate that Flower's copies of the Persepolis inscriptions had been included in Chardin's great work. However, the question can hardly be definitely settled, it only seems certain that Flower copied considerably more of the Persepolis inscriptions than the "inscription" of two lines which was published by Ashton in 1693.

Accompanying Ashton's letter was a lithographed plate of inscriptions, the fifth of which consists of two lines comprising in all 23 characters. Flower's explanatory note on these two lines runs as follows: "This Character, whether it be the ancient writing of the *Gaures* or *Gabres*, or a kind of *Telesmes* is found only at *Persepolis*, being a part of what is there engraven in white Marble, and is by no Man in *Persia* legible or understood at this day. A learned Jesuit Father, who deceased three years since, affirmed this Character to be known and used in *Ægypt*."² Ashton as well as several investigators in the 18th and 19th centuries³ regarded Flower's two lines as a genuine copied inscription, which caused much confusion to the early decipherers

¹ *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* ... (1793), p. 25.

² Cf. above, p. 20, the theory about the Egyptian origin of the inscriptions of Persepolis.

³ Flower's "inscription" was reprinted by Thomas Hyde in *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700), p. 516 Tab. XIV; ²(1760), p. 547 Tab. XIV, from which probably Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* ... II (1705), p. 563, reproduced it. Witsen, however, is responsible for the localisation of Flower's two lines to the neighbourhood of Derbent and Tarku (Tarki), and by strange devious ways, about which see further R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*⁶ I (1915), pp. 102 ff., Flower's "inscription" appears in the 19th century as the "Tarku inscription", which was tentatively deciphered by E. Burnouf in *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes* ... (1836) and by A. Holtzmann in *Beiträge zur Erklärung der persischen Keilinschriften* (1845) and in *ZDMG* VI (1852); a text edition was even published by E. Burnouf, *ibid.* Pl. V and in *J. As.* 3. sér. IX (1840), Pl. VII, where J. Ménant published it together with the cuneiform inscriptions from Van copied by Fr. É. Schulz († 1829) in 1827.

of the cuneiform writing, and often put an obstacle, under the name of the "Tarku inscription", in the way of their further investigations. But Flower was in no doubt that he had recorded 23 different isolated characters from the Persepolis inscriptions; this appears from the fact that he put a full stop after each of them. The significance of these full stops could not perhaps be appreciated in 1693, but after the Persepolis inscriptions published by J. Chardin, E. Kaempfer, and C. de Bruin in 1711, 1712, and 1714, respectively, in which the individual characters were not separated by full stops, all discussion of Flower's "inscription" should have given way to a realisation of the fact that there were here 23 single distinct signs. It was not until 1820 that G. F. Grotefend established this, when he said that Flower's "inscription" "ein Gemisch von Zeichen aus allen drey Keilschriftarten zu Persepolis enthält"¹. But even if E. F. F. Beer gave his support to this view, the attempts at deciphering the hapless "inscription" did not stop (see p. 25³), and only Henry Rawlinson's famous publications of 1846(—47) and 1851 put an end to all talk of the "Tarku inscription".

The Persepolitan script was named in the year 1700 by Thomas Hyde,² who, discussing Flower's "inscription", which he reproduced (see p. 25³), designated its characters as "dactuli pyramidales seu cuneiformes";³ however, Hyde did not think that the characters formed a script, but that they merely served purely decorative purposes (see p. 21). From 1711 onward, when Jean Chardin's magnificent work was published, till the beginning of the 19th century the Persepolitan inscriptions were indeed still the centre of research, but their history and publication proceeded on parallel lines with those of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, the Persian inscriptions being written in three languages (Old-Persian, Susian, Babylonian). The credit for the dawning recognition of this is due partly to Jean Jacques Bar-

¹ *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1820*, I (Halle 1820), p. 845.

² Erroneously Engelbert Kaempfer is stated to be the originator of the name of the Persian script (see B. T. A. Evetts, *New Light on the Bible* . . . (1892), p. 76; A. J. Booth, *The Discovery and Decipherment of the Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1902), p. 70; Ch. Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie* . . . I (1904), p. 88; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), pp. 12, 20). It is true that Kaempfer called the characters of Persepolis "cuneatae" in his *Amoenitates exoticae*, but this work was published in 1712, twelve years later than Hyde's *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700).

³ *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* . . . (1700), p. 526; ²(1760), p. 556.

thélemy (1716—95), who as early as 1762 noted the similarity between the cuneiform writing of the Caylus Vase and the Persepolitan script, partly to J. de Beauchamp, who in 1786 identified the writing on inscribed bricks from Hillah near ancient Babylon with the Persian script (see above p. 12). Through the first-mentioned observation the language and writing of the Babylonian culture first entered the scene of research. As far back as 1778, when Carsten Niebuhr's travel book was published, this born epigrapher had ascertained that the Persepolitan inscriptions were written in three different alphabets,¹ which he divided into the classes or groups I, II, and III without drawing the conclusion that the three classes were repetitions of the same text in different languages, whereas Barthélemy's above-mentioned observation was to become of the greatest importance in the history of the decipherment.

In section 6 below, in which we shall try to give a chronological list of the publication of Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions up to P. É. Botta's *Monument de Ninive, Tome III—IV: Inscriptions* (1849), the Persian cuneiform inscriptions will often come into the list as trilingual. As a result of the researches mentioned in this section we can, from the 17th century, draw up the following list of published Persepolitan inscriptions, or rather of individual signs from these, all in one language, Old-Persian, with the exception of that of Flower:

1658 Pietro della Valle.

[**1673** André Daulier-Deslandes (reprints: Pietro della Valle, Genff 1674; G. F. Gemelli-Careri 1699)].

1677 Thomas Herbert (reprint: G. F. Gemelli-Careri 1699).

1693 Samuel Flower (reprints: Th. Hyde 1700, ²1760; N. Witsen 1705; E. Burnouf 1836; Fr. É. Schulz-J. Mé-nant 1840).

§ 5. After travelling in the greater part of Turkey, Persia, and India, Pietro della Valle, having been absent for 12 years, returned to Rome in the year 1626, bringing with him a large collection of curiosities from his travels. Among these were building bricks, some of them with inscriptions, collected in the Hillah area (Bâbil) and from Muqayyar (see above, § 3), the

¹ *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien ...* II (1778), p. 158.

first Babylonian antiquities and inscriptions brought to Europe, where they caused no very great sensation. After 1626, inscribed bricks, cylinder seals, (with or without inscriptions) and other Assyro-Babylonian antiquities (e. g. the Caylus Vase, Caillou Michaux) were occasionally brought home to private or public European galleries, as a result of those activities of travellers or researchers in the 18th century which were mentioned in § 3. As regards the inscriptions the material must be supplemented by the published copies of the monuments in situ, derived mainly from the region around Persepolis in western Persia.

At the present date it is impossible to provide a complete list of the museums and private collections possessing Babylonian antiquities and inscriptions in the period from 1626 until the arrival at the close of the forties of the last century in the Louvre and the British Museum of P. É. Botta's and A. H. Layard's invaluable finds from the excavations at Khorsabad and Nimrûd, respectively. The following list, founded on knowledge drawn from publications of Babylonian antiquities, is not arranged chronologically, since this is impossible, but regionally.

I. Italy.

Pietro della Valle, Rome.

Athanasius Kircher, Rome (see above p. 10): Museo Kircheriano, 1876 incorporated in the Museo Etnografico-Preistorico (Collegio Romano).

The Grand Duke of Florence, Florence.

Cardinal Borgia, Velletri.

II. Holland.

Cornelis de Bruin's Collection, Amsterdam.¹

III. France.

Musée du Louvre, Paris (e. g. Beauchamp's collections, cf. also § 6 No. 19). L'Assemblée nationale, in the month of May 1791, ordered "la création d'un muséum au pa-

¹ Whether such a collection exists and, if so, where in Amsterdam, I cannot say but can only refer the reader to A. J. Booth, *Discovery and Decipherment* . . . (1902), pp. 73—74: "Le Bruyn appears to have been one of the first travellers to attempt to make a collection of these antiquities to send home to Europe. The extreme hardness of the stone severely taxed the strength of his tools, and it was with considerable difficulty that he secured a piece from a window [at Persepolis] covered with cuneiform characters, and some other smaller objects. These he despatched through the agent of the Dutch East India Company to the Burgo-master of Amsterdam."

lais du Louvre", and on the 27th July 1793 the name Muséum de la République was adopted, the old Cabinet du Roi forming the foundation of the museum; in the Napoleonic period its name was the Musée impériale. Bibliothèque nationale (1804—15: B. impériale), Cabinet des antiquités (now the Cabinet des médailles), Paris (e. g. Caillou Michaux).

A. C. Ph. de Tubières-Grimoard de Pestels de Levis, Comte de Caylus, Paris (the Caylus Vase, cylinder seals).

Abbé J. Beauchamp, Paris.

Abbé Ch. Ph. Campion de Tersan, Paris: Museum Tersantianum or Museum Abbatis Tersani, see Cl. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle, *Catalogue des objets d'antiquité et de curiosité qui composait le cabinet de feu M. l'abbé Campion de Tersan* (1819).

M. Raymond, Paris.

M. Rousseau, Paris.

Baron Louis François Sébastien de Fauvel, Paris (i. a. a Babylonian cylinder seal found on the battle-field of Marathon, Greece, discussed without results by G. F. Grotefend 1820, see § 6 No. 30).

Victorien Pierre Lottin de Laval, Paris.

IV. England.

British Museum, London (e. g. C. J. Rich's collections bought on the 3rd May, 1825, for £1000). The B. M. was founded in 1753, opened in 1759.

Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (1808 presented by Sir John Malcolm: Neriglissar No. 1, see VAB IV (1912), first published in I R 67, 1861).

The East India Company, London. Founded in 1600. The Company's residents in Baghdad (later British consular and political agents in Turkish Arabia) in the eventful years 1807—55 were C. J. Rich (1807—21), Colonel J. Taylor (1821—43), Henry Rawlinson (1843—55). As a result of Beauchamp's travel account of 1790 (see above p. 12), in which his epoch-making observations and finds from ancient Babylon were mentioned, the following letter, dated 18.10.1797, was sent by the East India Company, London, to the Governor of Bombay:

“Being always desirous to lend their assistance to those who may be employed in the elucidation of Oriental antiquities, and being informed that near the town of Hillah, on the River Euphrates, there exist the remains of a very large and magnificent city, supposed to be Babylon; and that the bricks of which those ruins are composed, are remarkable for containing on an intented scroll or label, apparently a distich, in characters totally different from any now made use of in the East”. Therefore the East India Company have decided to direct the Governor of Bombay “to give orders to the resident at Bassorah to procure from thence ten or a dozen of the bricks, and to transmit them, carefully packed up, as early as possible to Bombay, that they might be thence forwarded to them in one of their ships sailing for England”.¹ The Company’s resident at Baghdad about 1800 [Sir] Harford Jones [Brydges] made a collection of Babylonian inscriptions which reached London in 1801 and was published by J. Hager (inscribed bricks) and Th. Fisher (Nebuchadnezzar II’s “Black Stone” Inscription, Neb. No. 15, see VAB IV (1912)).

Sir William Ouseley, London.

Sir R. Ker Porter, London.

Mr. Charles Town(e)ley, London.

Mr. Salt, London (?).

George Gordon-Hamilton, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen (Esarhaddon’s Black Stone Inscription from Nineveh (see IR 49), presented to B. M. (No. 91027) in 1860).

Mr. Hamilton (a baked Babylonian building brick received from Lord Aberdeen, see G. F. Grotefend, *Allgem. Litter.-Zeit.* (Halle 1819), II p. 144).

Mr. B. Hertz, London, see *Catalogue of the Collection of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian . . . Peruvian and Mexican Antiquities formed by B. Hertz* (1851), in which 16 Babylonian cylinder seals are mentioned (pp. 1–2); compare also the sale catalogue of the collection from 1859, nos. 395–412.

¹ B. T. A. Evetts, *New Light on the Bible . . .* (1892), p. 106.

[The casts of sculptures, reliefs, and inscriptions from Persepolis in the possession of Sir Gore Ouseley¹ and George Gordon-Hamilton, Lord Aberdeen, the former presented to the British Museum by the Rt. Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone² (Governor of Bombay 1819—27), do not concern us here or elsewhere since they have played no part in the history of decipherment.]

V. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

K. K. Antiken-Cabinet, Vienna.	} (e. g. cylinder seals, gifts from C. J. Rich)
Count Wenceslaus Rzewusky, Vienna.	
J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Vienna.	
Archduke Johann, Johanneum, Graz (Grätz).	

VI. Germany.

Museum Praunianum, Nürnberg (cylinder seals).

Hrr. Usko, Senator in Danzig (building brick from Babylon, see Fr. Münter, *Det kgl. danske Videnskabers-Selskabs Skrivter for Aar 1800* (1801), p. 509 (misprint for: 309) and Grotefend, *Gött. gelehrte Anz.* 1819, p. 1951).

W. Dorow, Wiesbaden (later Bonn) (cylinder seals).

Königl. Museum, Berlin, later Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (the so-called Sargon Stele from Larnaka (Kition) in Cyprus found in the autumn of 1845 by L. Ross, was shortly afterwards acquired by the Berlin Museum, first published in III R 11, 1870).

VII. Denmark.

University Library, Copenhagen: two unbaked building bricks from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II with inscriptions; the 7-line inscription was presented 1820 by N. Wallich, Calcutta (see § 6 No. 32), the other (6 lines), also from Babylon, by Rasmus Rask in 1823. Both were transferred 1869—70 to Antik-Cabinettet, Copenhagen (founded in 1851), which in 1892 was incorporated in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

¹ *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India* . . . II (1816), p. 384: "Sir Gore Ouseley has brought home and placed upon the staircase of his house, in Bruton-Street, several of the sculptured marbles of Persepolis amongst which are inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, and in the highest state of preservation."

² *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, 29. ed. (1835), p. 190.

- VIII. Dr. Mitchill, New York (received in January 1817 from Captain Henry Austin a 6-line inscription from the district around Basrah¹).
- IX. The Catholic Armenian Vicar General for the Bishopric of Ispahan, Ispahan: Inscription Neb. No. 9, see VAB IV (1912), later in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., Middlehill, first published from a Bellino copy (see below § 6 No. 45) by G. F. Grotefend 1850, and in IR 65—66, 1861).
- X. Dr. John Hine, Baghdad (cylinder seal).
 Dr. Ross, Baghdad (inscription accompanied by the impression of cylinder seals, afterwards in the possession of Mr. Steuart (see below p. 47), according to Layard, *Nineveh* . . . II (1849), p. 187).
 Captain Abraham Lockett, Baghdad (later Calcutta) (cylinder seals and building bricks, cf. § 6 Nos. 25 and 32).
 Colonel J. Taylor, Baghdad (see Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* (1920), p. 26). He succeeded C. J. Rich at Baghdad (see above p. 29) until Henry Rawlinson took over his office in 1843. He is not identical with the vice-consul at Basrah, later Colonel, J. E. Taylor, i. a. known from the excavations at Muqayyar (Ur), despite L. W. King's statement, *CT XXVI* (1909) p. 8: ". . . which was found at Nebi Yunus by Col. J. E. Taylor in 1830, and some twenty-five years later was acquired by the British Museum." We are here concerned with the finding of the famous Taylor Cylinder, the large six-sided prism inscription which A. H. Layard mentions as being in the possession of Colonel Taylor, whom he calls: "late political Agent at Baghdad" (*Nineveh and its Remains*³ . . . II (1849), p. 186), cp. *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* . . . (1853), pp. 139³ and 345: "the late Colonel Taylor"; from which it would seem that in 1853 the latter was dead. The history of the Sennacherib inscription is confused and obscure owing to the contradictory statements of our authorities. Since L. W. King incorrectly mentions J. E. Taylor as the finder, his

¹ Carl Bezold, *Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* . . . (1886), p. 132.

date, 1830, has no foundation, but it is supported by J. Oppert;¹ Layard, on the pages quoted above, mentions Nabî Yûnus as the probable finding place. In 1860 J. Ménant² states that in 1846 Colonel Taylor sent the prism inscription to England but "il fut égaré pendant la traversée, et M. Lottin de Laval³ fut alors (i. e. in the year 1860) le seul possesseur d'un moule qu'il avait pris sur l'original". Ménant's statement in the year 1860 does not agree well with that of L. W. King about the British Museum acquiring the prism inscription about the year 1855. Ménant, one of the leading assyriologists of the time, could not, or should not, have been unaware of such an acquisition. The essential fact, however, was that this invaluable document came into the possession of the British Museum and that it was published in I R 37—42 (1861, re-edited in *CT* XXVI, 1909).

§ 6. In the lines that follow we shall attempt to give a chronologically arranged list of publications of Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions up to the time when the great epigraphical publications from Khorsabad (Botta 1849), Nimrûd (Layard 1851), and Bihistûn appeared (Babylonian text, Rawlinson 1851). The rather impressive list, comprising 46 numbers, begins with Samuel Flower's two-line "inscription" from 1693 (see above pp. 24 ff.) and ends with G. F. Grotefend's publication in 1850 of Bellino's copy of the Sennacherib cylinder.

1. **1693:** *Philosophical Transactions*. For the year 1693. Vol. XVII (London 1694), pp. 776—77. Samuel Flower's "inscription" (made in 1667, see pp. 24—26), i. e. two lines containing 23 different cuneiform characters, obviously selected at random from the Persepolitan inscriptions and, as mentioned above, not a coherent single inscription copied by Flower. The characters have been copied from the three different Persepolitan types of writing which Niebuhr in 1778 termed classes I, II, and III (see

¹ *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie* ... I (1863), pp. 86 f., 305.

² *Les écritures cunéiformes* ... (1860), p. 165.

³ In 1857 Victorien Pierre Lottin de Laval published a book concerning a new method of taking casts, i. a. of monuments of antiquity: *Manuel complet de lottinoplastique, l'art du moulage de la sculpture en bas-relief* ...; his cast of the Taylor Cylinder has never been published and is only known from Ménant's mention of it.

p. 27), and about which it was realised, in the period after 1851, that they expressed three different languages: Old-Persian, Susian (or Elamic), and Babylonian, in which all the Achaemenian inscriptions were written. Flower's two lines contain 8 Old-Persian, 4 Susian, and 11 Assyro-Babylonian characters, numbers 4, 7—9, 11, 13, 15—17, 19, and 22 being Assyrian *u*, *bu*, *ša*, *ši*, *rad*, *i*, *a*, *u*, *nu*, *ha*, and *ia*. These are the first published examples of the Assyro-Babylonian script, and the signs are excellently reproduced. [Reprints: Thomas Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* . . . (1700), p. 516 Tab. XIV; ²(1760), p. 547 Tab. XIV; Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* . . . II (1705), p. 563; as the "Tarku inscription" (see p. 25³) E. Bur-nouf, *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes* . . . (1836), Pl. V; Fr. É. Schulz (— J. Mé-nant), *J. As.* 3. sér. IX (1840), Pl. VII].

2. 1711: *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Tome III (Amst. 1711), p. 118 Pl. LXIX, gives the first copy of a complete inscription from Persepolis in three languages; it is repeated 18 times on the window frames of the inner hall of the palace of Darius in Persepolis. Jean Chardin, who was born at Paris in 1643, and visited Persepolis in 1666, 1667, and 1674, became a naturalized Englishman in 1681. The first edition of his travel book entitled *Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales* . . . (Londres 1686) contains only the voyage from Paris to Ispahan; the account of the travels of Chardin was first published in full, Amst. 1711, and in two sizes: 3 volumes in quarto (the, above-cited edition) and 10 volumes in octavo. The above-mentioned 3-line inscription (one line in each of the three languages) was copied both by Engelbert Kaempfer (1686) and published in his *Amoenitates exoticae* . . . Lemgoviae 1712, p. 347, and by Cornelis de Bruin (1704), who published it in *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie* . . . t'Amsteldam 1714, pp. 217—18 no. 134. Accurate copies of Darius' trilingual window-frame inscription were first given by William Ouseley (1811), who took part in his brother's, Sir Gore Ouseley's embassy to Persia, and were published in his *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia* . . . II (London 1821), Pl. XLI, and by N. L. Westergaard, *Mémoires de la Société*

royale des Antiquaires du Nord 1840—44 ... Copenhagen s. d. [1845],¹ Tab. XVI c: L (only the Babylonian version).²

3. **1712:** Engelbertus Kaempferus, *Amoenitates exoticae* ... Lemgoviae 1712, p. 333, has a 24-line Babylonian inscription in one language, copied in 1686, from the southern outer wall of the main terrace of Persepolis, by far the longest cuneiform inscription that had ever yet been published. Though the copy is useless as only some of the signs are correctly reproduced, Kaempfer's copy, as a first attempt upon so large a scale, deserves the highest commendation. Accurate copies of the inscription were published by Carsten Niebuhr in *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* ... II (Kopenhagen 1778), pp. 152—153, Tab. XXXI: Inscription L, and by Sir Robert Ker Porter in *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia* ... I (London 1821), Pls. 55—56.

4. **1714:** Cornelis de Bruin, *Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie* ... t'Amsteldam 1714, pp. 217—18 nos. 131, 132, reproduces three trilingual inscriptions from Persepolis (later known as Niebuhr B, D, C), in addition to no. 134: Chardin and Kaempfer's trilingual window-frame inscription, as already mentioned (see No. 2). C. de Bruin, who in the French translations bears the name Corneille Le Bruyn or Le Brun (Lebrun), is a more accurate copyist than are Chardin and Kaempfer, and for his time the copies he made in 1704 are wonderfully good, although he confuses many of the letters by too great compression. Accurate copies were published by C. Niebuhr, Tab. XXIV. [Reprint: *Uebersetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie die in England durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten ausgefertigt worden* ... Genau durchgesehen ... von Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, IV (Halle 1746), p. 99, Taf. IV: de Bruin nos. 132 and 134, but not the longest trilingual one, no. 131. *Algemeine Welthistorie* appeared in the period 1744—1814, a later editor was J. S. Semler. The English original (1736—65 Fol., later edition 1779—

¹ See *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord 1845—49* ... p. 118.

² Since this list of Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, which also includes the trilingual Persian Achaemenian inscriptions, is only carried down to 1850 (see p. 33), we have not cited the exact copies of Darius' and Xerxes' Persepolis inscriptions published by Charles Texier, in his *Descriptions de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* (1842—52) and by Eugène Flandin et Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse pendant les années 1840 et 1841* ... (1843—54).

84) and the French translation (1742—92, 1802, later ed. in 126 vols., 1779—91) do not reproduce C. de Bruin's copies of the inscriptions.]

5. **1752:** Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières-Grimoard de Pestels de Levis, Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* I (Paris 1752) pp. 54 ff. Pl. XVIII reproduces two Babylonian cylinder seals with inscriptions. The copy, the signs of which have an Archaic stamp of ancient Babylonian character, is useless. The two seals, which form part of Comte de Caylus' private collection, are stated to have been found in Egypt, but are regarded as Persian on account of the style of the figures; the characters are called "hiéroglyphes" and are said to "diffèrent trop des caractères tracés dans les ruines de Persépolis".

6. **1762:** Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités* . . . V (Paris 1762), p. 79 ff. Pl. XXX gives a quadrilingual inscription on an alabaster vase found in Egypt, two lines of a Persian trilingual inscription containing Xerxes' name translated into Egyptian hieroglyphics. The copy is passable. Concerning the characters on the vase which are not hieroglyphics, Abbé J. J. Barthélemy, after a comparison with C. de Bruin's copies, declares (see p. 26) by the mouth of Comte de Caylus (p. 82): "Les caractères en sont les mêmes que ceux de Persépolis" (see p. 12). Independent copies were published by A. J. Saint-Martin, *Extrait d'un mémoire relatif aux antiques inscriptions de Persépolis lu à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* [in 1822], Pl. II (*J. As.* II (1823), pp. 65—90); G. F. Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der persepolitischen Keilschrift* . . . (1837), Taf. II 3 (after a poor copy sent anonymously); I R 70 (1861). [Reprints: Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* IV (1777), Tab. III; Charles Bellino, *Account of the Progress made in Deciphering Cuneiform Inscriptions* (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* II (1820), pp. 170—192: Pl. No. 4)].

7. **1777:** Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* IV (1777), Tab. I C reproduces "E Museo Prauniano Norimb." (see p. 31) two cylinder seals, one of which bears an inscription; useless because only a few of the characters are correctly copied.

8. 1778: Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* II (Kopenhagen 1778), pp. 132 ff. Tab. XXIII (list of signs), XXIV: Inscriptions A—G, XXXI: Inscriptions H—L admirably reproduce three trilingual Persepolitan inscriptions: 1° B, D, C; 2° G, F, E; 3° H = J, K, L, where C, E, and L are the Babylonian versions, in addition to a unilingual Old-Persian Xerxes inscription (A); cp. below No. 43. Niebuhr, whose accurate copies formed the firm foundation for all study and all attempts at decipherment of the Persepolis inscriptions, established the fact that these were written and should be read from left to right, divided the three types of writing into classes I, II, and III, and found that class I, the ancient Persian script, only employed 42 signs in all, which he copied out and set in order in one of his plates (Tab. XXIII). [Reprints: C. G. von Murr, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* . . . IV (1777) Tab. I B: Niebuhr F¹; S. Fr. G. Wahl, *Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen und Litteratur* . . . (1784), Tab. IV A, B, C: Niebuhr G, E, F; it should further be mentioned that G. F. Grotefend in his numerous publications from 1805² and onwards not only uses the Niebuhr copies in his attempts at decipherment but also often reprints some of them].

¹ Communicated to Murr by Niebuhr in a letter dated 2.4.1776.

² G. F. Grotefend's decipherment of the Old-Persian royal names: *Praevia de cuneatis quas vocant inscriptionibus persepolitianis legendis et explicandis relatio* was presented by a friend to the Göttingen Academy on 4.9.1802 but was not published by the society, any more than other papers presented on 2.10.1802, 13.11.1802, and 20.5.1803. A review of *Praevia de cuneatis* . . . was given by Th. Chr. Tychsen in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 18.9.1802, 149. Stück, pp. 1481—87, and by A. J. Silvestre de Sacy, *Lettre à M. Millin sur les Monumens persépolitains* (*Magasin encyclopédique*, VIII. an., tome V (1803), pp. 438—67, accompanied by a plate giving the text, transliteration and translation of Niebuhr B and G.); reviews of the other three papers were given in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 6.11.1802, 178. Stück, pp. 1769—72; 14.4.1803, 60. Stück, pp. 593—95, and 23.7.1803, 117. Stück, pp. 1161—4. Grotefend's first publication regarding his decipherment of the Persepolis inscriptions appeared in 1805 in A. H. L. Heeren, *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel, der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*. 2. sehr vermehrte und verbess. Aufl. I 1 (1805), pp. 931—60 Beilage 1: G. F. Grotefend, *Ueber die Erklärung der Keilschriften, und besonders der Inschriften von Persepolis*. It is strange to see the year 1815 given in the scientific literature as the year of the first Grotefend publication (Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik* (1889), p. 60*; ²(1906), p. 36*; F. H. Weissbach, *Die Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art* (1890), p. 3 (*Assyriologische Bibliothek* IX); A. J. Booth, *The Discovery and Decipherment of the trilingual cuneiform inscriptions* (1902), p. 170; R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria* ⁶I (1915), p. 70³). — Grotefend's original papers from 1802—03 were found in the archives of the Göttingen Academy and published by Wilhelm Meyer in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1893), No. 14.

9. **1791**: R. E. Raspe¹, *A descriptive catalogue of a general collection of ancient and modern engraved gems, cameos, as well as intaglios, taken from the most celebrated cabinets in Europe, and cast in coloured pastes, white enamel, and sulphur by James Tassie* II (London 1791), Pl. IX nos. 651—52, IX₂ nos. 15099—15102 and XI no. 653, depict two Babylonian cylinder seals and a cameo on which is seen a helmeted warrior; all the three objects have inscriptions, nos. 651—52 two lines, nos. 15099—15102, in Mr. Charles Townley's possession, three lines. No. 653, the cameo mentioned by Raspe, "formerly in the Cabinet of Prieur Vaini at Rome", has been so badly copied that it is useless, whereas Townley's cylinder seal is well copied; in nos. 651—52 few signs are correctly given. [Reprints: Joseph Hager, *A Dissertation on the newly-discovered Babylonian Inscriptions* (London 1801), Plate II, Figs. 1, 2 (nos. 651—52, 15099—15102), Pl. IV (no. 653); Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte* (Paris 1802), p. XL no. 9, Pl. 124,9 (nos. 651—52); G. F. Grotefend, *Beweis, dass alle babylonische Keilschrift . . . zu einerlei Schriftgattung und Sprache gehöre*, Plate: F (*Fundgruben des Orients* VI (1818), pp. 143—62); G. F. Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der babylonischen Keilschrift . . .* (1840), p. 5 Fig. I].

10. **1800**: Frederik Münter, *Undersøgelser om de persepoltanske Inscriptioner*. 1—2. Afhandling, Kjøbenhavn 1800 (offprint of *Det kongelige danske Videnskabers-Selskabs Skrifter for Aar 1800* (1801), Pl. 2 gives a useless copy of a Babylonian cylinder seal inscription; according to J. Hager, *Dissertation on . . . Babylonian Inscriptions* (1801), p. 8, Münter's cylinder seal is taken from Abbé Beauchamp's Paris collection.

11. **1801**: Joseph Hager, *General Observations on the Persepolitan Characters, with a Description and Representation of some bricks lately sent to Europe from the site of antient Babylon* (*The Monthly Magazine* . . . August 1801, pp. 2—6) publishes

¹ The Hanoverian Rud. Erich Raspe († 1794) is especially known as the publisher (i. e. author) of *Baron Munchausen's Narrative of his marvellous travels and campaigns in Russia* . . . (London 1785; ²Oxford 1786), which was translated into all languages and to this very day is read with enjoyment all over the world. The book was based on the extravagant stories of a Hanoverian squire Baron Karl Friedrich Hieronymus von Münchhausen. Raspe was originally professor and librarian at Kassel, but as he could not distinguish between meum and tuum, he had to fly to England, where he settled at Oxford.

one of the building brick inscriptions (= Pl. 1 in No. 12, see below) which in the same year, at the request of the East India Company of 18.10.1797 (see p. 30) was sent to London from the Hillah district, i. e. Babylon [Reprint: A. A. H. Lichtenstein in *Braunschweigisches Magazin* (1801), see below, No. 13.]

12. 1801: Joseph Hager, *A Dissertation on the newly discovered Babylonian Inscriptions* (London 1801) gives 9 Babylonian inscriptions from the Hillah district (see above, No. 11): on 4 inscribed bricks, on 3 cylinder seals and a fragment of 8 lines of a Tukulti-Inurta I¹ (1260—1232) inscription. The copies are handsomely executed and can be used for further study save for one. Hager was of Austrian descent, born in Milan in 1757, died in Paris in 1819; he early studied oriental languages in the libraries of Constantinople, Madrid, Leyden, and Oxford. During his stay in England he was a contributor to *The Oriental Collections* . . . ed. by W. Ouseley 1797—99. After the publication of the above-mentioned book, he went to Paris in 1802, at the invitation of Napoleon, to prepare a dictionary of Chinese in Latin and French; in 1806 he was at Oxford, ending his career in Pavia in 1809 as a teacher of oriental languages. After Hager's departure to France (1802) the East India Company's collected material of inscriptions (see p. 30 and above under No. 11) was published in part by Thomas Fisher, Browne, and J. Ryland. [Reprints: A single leaf, without mention of place or date of printing, signed "Fisher delineavit — Browne sculpsit", containing 3 brick inscriptions from Babylon and a drawing of a brick with an inscription (= Hager, Pl. 4; 5₁₋₂; 1); Thomas Fisher, *An inscription of the size of the original, copied from a stone lately found among the ruins of ancient Babylon* . . . (1802), signed "T. Fisher del.^t 1802 J. Ryland sculp." (= Hager's Tukulti-Inurta inscription)²].

13. 1801: Anton. August. Henric. Lichtenstein, *Tentamen palaeographiae Assyro-Persicae* . . . (*Braunschweigisches Magazin* 1801), Pl. VIII shows a Babylonian cylinder seal with a quadrilinear inscription, the copy is very bad and no use at all for study; according to Dorow (see below), the original is in the

¹ As regards my transcription of the royal name, see my *Chronology of the Shub-ad Culture* (1941), pp. XIII—XVI.

² Hager and Fisher's copies of the Tukulti-Inurta fragment are collated by E. Unger, *AK II* (1924—25), p. 19.

Florentine Museum and the drawing was made by Baron Banks, London. Lichtenstein's *Tentamen* was reprinted without alterations as an independent book, Helmstadii 1803. [Reprint: W. Dorow, *Morgenländische Alterthümer* I (1820), Tab. 2:1].

[14. **1802:** Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte* (Paris 1802), p. XL Pl. 124,3, gives "un fragment de granit près de Suez", on which is seen one line of an Old-Persian inscription; the Suez Stone, which was found in the year 1800, was one of Darius' quadrilingual Egyptian inscriptions (cf. above, No. 6, where a similar Xerxes inscription is mentioned), but only a few letters of the Babylonian text remained and nearly the whole of the Susian was lost, whereas twelve lines of the Old-Persian inscription were seen. For further discussion and a reproduction of fragments of the Suez Stone, see de Rozière, *Notice sur les ruines d'un monument persépolitain découvert dans l'Isthme de Suez. (Description de l'Égypte . . . Antiquités, Mémoires I (1809), pp. 265—75)*¹ and *Description de l'Égypte . . . Antiquités, Planches V (1822), Pl. 29, 1—4*].

15. **1802:** Thomas Fisher, *An engraving of a fragment of Jasper found near Hillah, bearing part of an inscription in the cuneiform character* (1802). Fisher's copies, like Hager's (see above No. 12), are handsome and useful.

16. **1802:** A. L. Millin, *Monumens antiques inédits ou nouvellement expliqués* I (Paris 1802), pp. 58—68 Pls. VIII, IX, reproduces Caillou Michaux, i. e. the *kudurru* inscription found by the botanist A. Michaux near Taq-i-Kesra (Ctesiphon); the copy can be used. The inscription was sold by Michaux to the Bibliothèque nationale (Cabinet des antiquités) on 6.10.1800 for 4200 frs.² The first mention of the *kudurru*, and a brief description, was made by Michaux himself in Millin's *Magasin encyclopédique* VI. année, III (1800), pp. 86—87. Accurate copy in IR 70 (1861). [Reprint of two lines of the inscription: Giuseppe Hager, *Illustrazione d'uno Zodiaco Orientale del Cabinetto delle Medaglie di Sua Maestà a' Parigi, scoperto recentemente . . . in vicinanza dell' antica Babilonia* (Milano 1811, Fol.)].

17. **1803:** *An Inscription of the size of the Original, copied*

¹ See G. F. Grotefend, *Fundgruben des Oriens* . . . VI (1818), pp. 252—58.

² See V. Scheil, *RA* X (1913), p. 13.

from a Stone lately found among the Ruins of ancient Babylon and sent as a Present to Sir Hugh Inglis Bart.¹ by Harford Jones Esq.², the Honorable the East India Company's Resident at Bagdad (London 1803).¹ This was the largest Babylonian inscription published so far, comprising in the later text edition 621 lines (IR 53—58, 1861, with a Neo-Babylonian transcription of the archaic characters: IR 59—64), but the inscription, did not come to play any great part in the decipherment of cuneiform script, any more than the far shorter one on Michaux's *kudurru*, the next longest inscription known, for being unilingual it was unintelligible and obscure, linguistically as well as regarding the contents; very useful, on the other hand, was the list of characters published by Thomas Fisher in 1807.² It was subsequently found to contain one of Nebuchadnezzar II's building inscriptions (Neb. No. 15, see VAB IV, 1912) and was given the name of Nebuchadnezzar's East India House Inscription or Nebuchadnezzar's "Black Stone" Inscription. The copy which was made by Thomas Fisher is seen in a magnificent engraving, very accurately executed by J. Ryland; both Fisher's and Ryland's names appear below in the engraving: "T. Fisher delin.^t J. Ryland sculp.^t". It must therefore be due to a slip of memory that Sir Ernest Budge³ in this connection mentions the lithographer R. E. Bowler, who for chronological reasons as well must be regarded as excluded. His name appears for the last time on the title page of IV R 1875. His first lithographical achievement in Assyriology was, as far as I know, the long Tiglathpileser I inscription, from E. Norris' copy, which served as a standard to H. Fox Talbot, Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert in their decipherment of the cuneiform writing at the request of The Royal Asiatic Society in 1857.⁴ Bowler was then charged with the work of lithographing Sir Henry Rawlinson's, Edwin Norris', and George Smith's copies of cuneiform inscriptions for the great work *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the

¹ Published on the 18th August.

² A collection of all the characters, simple and compound, with their modification, which appear in the Inscription of a Stone found among the Ruins of Ancient Babylon . . . (1807).

³ *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), p. 95.

⁴ *Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., King of Assyria B. C. 1150*, as translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks and Dr. Oppert. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society (1857).

first four volumes of which contain his lithographical work (I—IV R 1861, 1866, 1870, 1875); finally he has copied a series of cuneiform tablets from the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum.

18. **1804:** G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse* . . . Atlas, 2. livr. Paris an XII (1804), Pl. 33, Fig. 6, reproduces a Babylonian cylinder seal with a three-line inscription, bought at Urfah, northwest of Harran, on the main road to Mardin; the copy is poor and cannot be used.

19. **1806:** A. L. Millin, *Monumens antiques inédits ou nouvellement expliqués* II (Paris 1806), pp. 263 ff. Pls. XXXII—XXXV gives 12 inscribed bricks from Abbé J. de Beauchamp's collections (see above pp. 11 ff. and 29), which at the time of publication were at the Bibliothèque impériale, Cabinet des antiquités. The copies are bad, only a few signs have been properly interpreted.

20. **1812:** James Justinian Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor in the years 1808 and 1809* . . . (London 1812), p. 356 Pl. XXIX no. 5 reproduces Cyrus (the Younger's?) trilingual Murghâb inscription, covering four lines in all, one day's journey northeast of Persepolis; the copy of the Babylonian characters is not good, whereas the Old-Persian signs are reproduced with great accuracy. This quite short inscription, which was of great importance for the first attempts at decipherment, was later independently copied in 1811 by William Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia* . . . II (London 1821), Pl. XLIX, 5; in 1818 by Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia* . . . I (London 1821), Pl. 13; and in 1821 by Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon* . . . (London 1839), Pl. XII; the Babylonian version alone was copied by N. L. Westergaard, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord* 1840—44 (1845), Pl. XVI c: M. [Reprints: Charles Bellino, *Account of the Progress made in Deciphering Cuneiform Inscriptions* (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* II, 1820, pp. 170—192, Pl. No. 5; read on 30.6.1818), from J. J. Morier 1812; G. F. Grotefend, *Über ein indisches Gemählde* (in W. Dörow's *Morgenländische Alterthümer* II 1821, Tab. III, Fig. 4) and from there in his *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der persepoli-*

tanischen Keilschrift . . . (1837), Taf. II, 1 (after R. Ker Porter 1821); J. A. Saint-Martin, *J. As.* II (1823), p. 66 Pl. II; Eugène Burnouf, *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan* . . . (1836), Pl. V (after W. Ouseley 1821).]

21. 1813: Claudius James Rich, *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon* (*Fundgruben des Orients* . . . III (Wien 1813¹), pp. 129—162, 197—200), pp. 198—99, Pl. I, gives four inscriptions from Babylonian building bricks (nos. 1 and 4: 6 lines, nos. 2—3: 7 lines), Pl. II Fig. 2 a *kudurru* inscription, Fig. 5 another Babylonian inscription, Figs. 7—8 two Babylonian cylinder seals with 2- and 3-line inscriptions. The copies, especially on Pl. II, are not of much use.

22. 1814: G. F. Grotefend, *Explicatio tabulae, quae inscriptiones laterum coctilium in veteris Babylonis . . . repertae . . . conferuntur* (*Fundgruben des Orients* . . . IV (Wien 1814), pp. 331—37) gives eight different kinds of Babylonian legends chiefly from inscribed bricks; these Grotefend has copied accurately from publications by J. Hager 1801 (see No. 12), Millin 1806 (see No. 19), J. Hager 1811 (see No. 16: A. L. Millin) and Rich 1813 (see No. 21), besides from the East India House Inscription (see No. 17). The reason why Grotefend's *Explicatio* is included here as a special text publication is that some few of the legends are copies of Babylonian inscriptions never before published, from Abbé Campion de Tersan's (Grotefend: Tersant) Paris Collection (see p. 29). On the other hand Grotefend's *Explicatio tabulae* . . . in *Fundgruben des Orients* . . . V (1816), pp. 225—30 presents nothing new as the cuneiform signs are from Th. Fisher's list of characters (1807), see above p. 41.

23. 1814: J. von Hammer [-Purgstall], *Babylonische Talismane* (*Fundgruben des Orients* . . . IV (Wien 1814), p. 86) reproduces a plate with 14 Babylonian cylinder seals, two of which have two lines of inscription each, belonging to the Archduke Johann, Graz; Count Wenceslaus Rzewusky; and Joseph v. Hammer-Purgstall, both in Vienna. The copies are of no use at all.

24. 1814: J. von Hammer [-Purgstall], *Ueber die Talismane der Moslimen* (*Fundgruben des Orients* . . . IV (Wien 1814), pp. 155 ff.), reproduces a plate with 15 Babylonian cylinder seals,

¹ As to the reprints published in England see above p. 14¹.

two of which have two lines each, and three an inscription of three lines each, belonging to the same three owners as mentioned under No. 23. The copies are of no use. The cylinder seals mentioned here and under No. 23 are gifts from C. J. Rich.

25. 1817: John Landseer, *The engraved gems, brought from Babylon to England by Abraham Lockett* (*Archaeologia* XVIII (London 1817), pp. 371—84) reproduces a Babylonian cylinder seal with a two-line inscription; the copy is useless.

26. 1818: Claudius James Rich, *Second Memoir on Babylon* ... (London 1818) reproduces 9 Babylonian inscriptions in all, as well as two cylinder seals with inscriptions of 1 and 3 lines, respectively, a great enlargement of the material published in the first edition (see No. 21). Among the lengthy inscriptions (Rich's no. 4) may be mentioned Nebuchadnezzar II's canal building inscription (Neb. No. 8, see VAB IV, 1912), which was republished in IR 52: No. 4 (1861). The copies are good and useful as compared with Rich's first publication in 1813 (see No. 21) and are undoubtedly due to Carl Bellino, born on 21.1.1791 at Rothenburg am Neckar, who like the lithographer R. E. Bowler, mentioned under No. 17, was one of the most excellent copyists of the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform script that ever lived. Bellino studied at Tübingen and Vienna where he met Rich during the latter's vacation in Europe (October 1813—16.3.1816); he became his secretary at Trieste some time after 29.6.1815, and arrived with Rich at Baghdad in the middle of March 1816. In 1817 he accompanied him on his second visit to Babylon (see p. 14), being also appointed by Rich to join J. S. Buckingham, who arrived at Baghdad on 16.7.1816, and R. Ker Porter (in Baghdad 14.10.1818) on these gentlemen's travels of exploration in Babylonia. The visit to Babylon in 1817 probably marks the beginning of Bellino's copying of Babylonian inscriptions; he himself only published a single treatise (see below No. 29), but the Babylonian inscriptions issued by R. Ker Porter (see below No. 33) are Bellino copies, as well as a number of copies of inscriptions sent at Rich's request to G. F. Grotefend, whose publication from 1805 (see above p. 37²) had made a deep impression on him (see below p. 49). Grotefend published the Bellino copies in 1818, 1837, 1837—42, 1840, 1848, and 1850 (see below Nos. 27, 36, 37, 39, 45, 46) besides printing

entirely or in part letters from Bellino accompanying these copies, dated 20.8.1817; 22.5., 31.7., 8.11., 28.11.1818; 19.4., 30.9.1819; and 6.2., 15.4.1820.¹ Among the Bellino copies issued by Grotefend we must especially mention the so-called Sennacherib-Bellino Cylinder (BM 22502), which is much superior to the one published by the British Museum (i. e. Layard 1851, Pls. 63—64), and about which copy H. Fox Talbot says that it is the “most wonderful instance of patient accuracy which is to be found in the whole range of archaeological science.”² In April 1820 Rich set out on his journey in Kurdistan³ with Sulaimaniyah as his objective, accompanied by Bellino and one Mr. Bell, who had succeeded Dr. Hine as surgeon to the Residency. At Sulaimaniyah Bellino left the party to pay an antiquarian visit to Hamadân (Ekbatana) for the purpose of copying the trilingual Mount Elvend inscriptions. But Bellino never attained his object, he only managed to copy the Old-Persian column of one of the Mount Elvend inscriptions (see below No. 36). He was taken ill with a serious fever, and though he recovered so far that he could rejoin Rich at Mosul on 31.10.1820 (see p. 9), he died in that town on the 13th of November of the same year, before he had attained the age of 30.⁴ His early death was as great a loss to Rich, who died at Shîrâz barely a year later on the 5th October 1821, as to the incipient Assyriology.

27. 1818: G. F. Grotefend, *Beweis, dass alle babylonische Keilschrift . . . zu einerlei Schriftgattung und Sprache gehöre* (*Fundgruben des Orients* . . . VI (Wien 1818), pp. 143—62) has a plate with 6 examples of Babylonian inscriptions; one of these (B) is a Bellino copy of an 8-line inscription in the possession of the Catholic Armenian Vicar General at Ispahan (see above p. 32 and below No. 45).

28. 1819: William Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia* . . . I (London 1819), Pl. XXI

¹ See J. Flemming, *BA* I (1890), p. 83; according to Grotefend, *ZKM* VII (1850), p. 216, the last letter from Bellino is dated at the 15th April, from this Flemming dissents.

² *JRAS* XVIII (1861), p. 77.

³ *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh* . . . Edited by his widow. I—II (1836).

⁴ See *ibid.* II (1836), p. 126, and Rich's letter to J. von Hammer, published by Johannes Flemming, *BA* I (1890), pp. 84—85.

shows six inscribed bricks and pieces of baked clay inscribed, from the Hillah district (+ two cylinder seals without inscriptions); the copies are useless, and so is the very poor copy of an inscription from a Babylonian cylinder seal published in II (1821), Pl. XXXVII.

29. 1820: Charles Bellino, *Account of the Progress made in Deciphering Cuneiform Inscriptions* in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* II (1820), pp. 170—192 (written on 29.3.1818, read on 30.6.1818): No. 8 shows a seven-line inscription from a Babylonian cylinder seal owned by Dr. John Hine, Baghdad (see p. 13²). [Reprints: G. F. Grotefend, *Erläuterungen über einige babylonische Cylinder mit Keilschrift* (W. Dorow, *Morgenländische Alterthümer* I 1820), Pl. II:2, gives an “Abzeichnung”, received from Rich, of John Hine’s green jasper cylinder in natural size; R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia* . . . II (1822), Pl. 79:6.]

30. 1820: G. F. Grotefend, *Erläuterung über einige babylonische Cylinder mit Keilschrift* (W. Dorow, *Morgenländische Alterthümer* I 1820, pp. 23—56), Tab. 1 shows a red jasper cylinder seal from Nineveh, owned by Dorow, with a seven-line inscription in Assyrian; the copy is not at all bad.

31. 1821: William Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia* . . . II (London 1821), Pl. XXXVII, see above, No. 28.

32. 1821: Erasmus Nyerup, *Catalogus Librorum Sanskritanorum, quos Bibliothecae Universitatis Havniensis vel dedit vel paravit Nathanael Wallich*. (Hafniæ 1821), Additamentum (“characteres lateris Babylonici”): a 7-line inscription from one of Nebuchadnezzar II’s numerous building bricks, which Abraham Lockett, accompanying C. J. Rich in 1811 (see above p. 13) “eum ipse a ruderibus Babylonis attulerat”; presented as a gift to Wallich by Lockett then living at Fort William, Calcutta. The copy is not at all bad, several signs have been properly interpreted. As for independent later copies of the same type of Nebuchadnezzar 7-line inscription, see e. g. J. Ménant, *Inscriptions assyriennes des briques de Babylone* (1859), Tab. No. 1: A; as for the 6-line inscription (see above p. 31) see *ibid.* No. 1: B.

33. 1822: Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia* . . . II (London 1822), Pls. 77—80

reproduces inscriptions from Babylon on bricks and marbles (Pl. 77; 77a from Al Uḥaimir,¹ the ancient Kish), a clay cylinder inscription from Babylon, a fragment of the East India Inscription (Pl. 78, see above, No. 17), and cylinder seal inscriptions (Pls. 79—80); as mentioned above, p. 44, most of these excellent copies are due to Bellino. [Reprint of Pl. 80,¹ (a very badly copied cylinder seal inscription): G. F. Grotefend, *Urkunden in babylonischer Keilschrift* . . . (1837—42), Inscription I (see below No. 37)].

34. 1836: Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh; with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad, and an Account of a Visit to Shirauz and Persepolis*. Edited by his widow, II (London 1836), p. 131, shows a facsimile of Assyrian writings from Nimrūd. [Reprint: G. F. Grotefend, *Keil-Inschriften aus der Gegend von Niniveh* . . . Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 (ZKM VII, 1850, pp. 63—70, 386)].

35. 1836: Eugène Burnouf, *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan et qui font maintenant partie des papiers du D^r Schulz* (Paris 1836), Pl. 4 shows Xerxes' (but not Darius') trilingual Mount Elvend inscription near Hamadân from a copy found among Fr. Éd. Schulz's posthumous papers. The first travellers to notice the Mount Elvend inscriptions were J. M. Kinneir (1810),² J. J. Morier (1813),³ and R. Ker Porter (1817—20),⁴ who reached the place when the day was far advanced and had no time to make a copy. Bellino was prevented by a violent fever from finishing his copies of the Mount Elvend inscriptions (see above p. 45). But about 1827 Mr. Steuart (Stewart) and M. Vidal, the consular dragoman at Aleppo, made a copy and communicated it to Fr. É. Schulz, sometime Professor at Giessen (Hesse), who in 1826 had been sent to Armenia by the French government, to study the Van inscriptions. He reached the spot in July 1827, he copied 42 Vannic inscriptions but was unfortunately murdered by the Kurds in 1829. His

¹ See H. V. Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* (1904), p. 49 (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series D, I).

² *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire* . . . (1813), p. 126.

³ *A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816* . . . (1818), p. 267.

⁴ *Travels in Georgia* . . . II (1822), p. 120.

papers found their way into the hands of Félix Lajard of Paris, who passed them on to J. A. Saint-Martin; the latter did not manage to publish Schulz's material before his death (1832); from his estate they passed on to E. Burnouf.¹ The copy of Xerxes' Mount Elvend inscription which Burnouf published is thus derived from Steuart and Vidal, not from the hand of Fr. É. Schulz. Henry Rawlinson copied the cuneiform inscriptions at Mount Elvend in April 1835, and they were a great help to him when he deciphered the Bihistûn inscription, but the copies were not published. [Reprint: Fr. Éd. Schulz, *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*. (Ed. by J. M[énant]), Pl. VII (*J. As.* 3. sér. IX (1840), pp. 257 ff.).]

36. **1837:** G. F. Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der persepolitischen Keilschrift nebst einem Anhang über die Vollkommenheit der ersten Art derselben* . . . (Hannover 1837), Taf. IV reproduces, from Bellino's copies, two Babylonian inscribed baked bricks. (P. 9, Taf. I shows a Bellino copy of the first, Old-Persian, column of one of the Mount Elvend inscriptions, which Grotefend presented to the University Library of Tübingen, where Bellino had been educated.)

37. **1837—42:** G. F. Grotefend, *Urkunden in babylonischer Keilschrift*. 1.—4. Beitrag (ZKM I—III Göttingen 1837, 39, 40, IV Bonn 1842) gives five inscriptions derived from Bellino (A, B, C, D, F) as well as two cylinder seal inscriptions (G, H), perhaps from Rich and Ouseley's collections. (Grotefend's inscription E, a few Old-Persian signs, was a reprint from *Monumenti inediti. Pubbl. dall' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* II (1834—38), Pl. LI). [Reprint of Grotefend's Inscription A: Guil. Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt* . . . III (1837), Tab. 32: LXXVIIa].

38. **1839:** Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811* . . . *Second Memoir on the Ruins* . . . *With Narrative of a Journey to Persepolis*. Edited by his widow . . . (London 1839), Pls. XIX and XXVI (Persepolis nos. 5 and 7: two trilingual inscriptions from Persepolis not copied before by Niebuhr or his predecessors). Rich arrived at Persepolis on the 17th August 1821 and within a space of six days he performed the unique feat of copying all Xerxes' Persepolis inscriptions

¹ Cf. E. Burnouf, *Mémoire* . . . (1836), pp. 12 f.

except one. He employed workmen to clear away the rubbish which often concealed them, and discovered for the first time inscriptions never known before him.¹ "I was actually diligent enough to fall to work at copying the inscriptions; and during the six days we remained at Persepolis I copied all the inscriptions except one. I have found much to corroborate Grotefend's system, and have admired his sagacity. The labour I have gone through will greatly assist him."² After his arrival at Shīrâz, where a violent cholera raged, Rich refused to quit the town, assisting the sick and dying, administering the necessary medicines. But on the 4th October 1821 he was himself taken seriously ill with the disease, and on the following morning, at the age of only 35 years, the founder of Assyriology expired at Shīrâz, where he was interred.

39. 1840: G. F. Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der babylonischen Keilschrift nebst einem Anhang über die Beschaffenheit des ältesten Schriftdrucks bei der vierten Secularfeier der Erfindung des Bücherdrucks von Gutenberg*. (Hannover 1840), p. 5 Fig. II, reproduces a trilingual Darius cylinder seal inscription (acquired prior to 1838 by the British Museum from the British consul general Mr. Salt's private collection for £23); p. 41 shows a Bellino copy of a Babylonian inscription; a plate reproduces 28 different Babylonian legends (see above No. 22), which are Bellino copies of 40 inscribed bricks in C. J. Rich's collection.

40. 1840: Fr. Éd. Schulz, *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*. (Envoyé à Paris le 8 juin 1828.) (Ed. by J. M[énant]) (*J. As.* 3. sér. IX, 1840, pp. 257—323), Pl. VIII reproduces Darius' trilingual Mount Elvend inscription; Pl. II: IX—XI reproduce Xerxes' trilingual Van Inscriptions. The copies are splendid, the script is Assyrian. The publication contains in all 42 inscriptions distributed over eight large plates, 39 of them being unilingual Vannic. Cf. also No. 35.

41. 1843—44: (P. É. Botta,) *Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Ninive*. A M. J. Mohl, à Paris (*J. As.* 4. sér. II (1843), pp. 61—72, 201—14; III (1844), pp. 91—103, 424—35; IV (1844), pp. 301—14) reproduce 15 Assyrian Khorsabad inscriptions.

¹ As to details cp. A. J. Booth, *Discovery and Decipherment* . . . (1902), pp. 99f.

² *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* . . . II (1836), p. 223.

The letters were published separately with the title *Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Khorsabad, près de Ninive*, publiées par M. J. Mohl (Paris 1845).

42. **1845:** Adrien de Longpérier, *Vase fabriqué en Égypte pendant la domination perse* (RArch. II 1844—45, Paris 1845, pp. 444—51), p. 446 reproduces a quadrilingual vase inscription (cp. above the Caylus Vase, No. 6), containing Artaxerxes' name; the so-called Venezia Vase is kept at Il Tesoro di San Marco, Venezia. [Reprint: N. L. Westergaard, *Zur Entzifferung der Achämenidischen Keilschrift zweiter Gattung* (ZKM VI 1845, pp. 337—466, Pl. VIII.)]

43. **1845:** N. L. Westergaard, *On the deciphering of the second Achaemenian or Median species of arrowheaded writing* (*Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord* 1840—1844 (Copenhagen 1845), pp. 271—439), Tab. XIII—XVIII show the Babylonian version of seven inscriptions from Persepolis, of the Murghâb inscription (see No. 20), and of the inscription Naḫsh-i-Rustam a (see VAB III 1911, p. XVIII): B and G (Tab. XIII); D (Tab. XIV); H (Tab. XV); C (Tab. XVI); L and M (= Murghâb) (Tab. XVI c); E (Tab. XVII), and Naḫsh-i-Rustam a (Pl. XVIII). West. B = Niebuhr C; West. C = Rich (see no. 37) nos. 1 and 5; West. E = Rich no. 2; West. G = Niebuhr E, Rich nos. 3 and 4; West. H = Niebuhr L. Westergaard's copies of inscriptions, which are independent of those of his predecessors (Niebuhr, Morier, Rich), while Naḫsh-i-Rustam a has been copied for the first time, are distributed thus over the reigns of the Achaemenian rulers: Darius B, H, L, NR a; Xerxes C, D, E, G; Cyrus the Younger (?) M. Copies of the Susian version of the above-mentioned 9 inscriptions were given by Westergaard in ZKM VI (Bonn 1845), Pls. VI—VIII.

44. **1847:** Isidore Löwenstern, *Exposé des éléments constitutifs du système de la troisième écriture cunéiforme de Persépolis* (Paris, Leipzig 1847), p. 5 reproduces a 13-line Neo-Babylonian inscription fragment with the name of Artaxerxes I, found at Persepolis by Lottin de Laval (see above, p. 33): "Dans le fragment d'une inscription que M. Lottin de Laval a rapporté de Persépolis, et que le célèbre voyageur a reproduit sur l'un des deux dessins, que je dois à sa bienveillance, on rencontre un nom propre . . . dont il n'existe que trois signes . . . que je sup-

pose appartenir au nom d'Artaxerxe . . ." (p. 76³). [Reprints: L. Félicien J. C. de Saulcy, *Recherches sur l'écriture cunéiforme assyrienne. Inscriptions des Achéménides* (Paris 1849), p. 57; Eugène Flandin et Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse . . . Perse ancienne. Planches Tome III* (Paris s. d.), Pl. 129: B].

45. 1850: G. F. Grotefend, *Bemerkungen zur Inschrift eines Thongefässes mit babylonischer Keilschrift* (*Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* IV. Von den Jahren 1848—50 (1850), pp. 1—18) reproduces Bellino's more than 30 year old copy¹ of a Nebuchadnezzar II cylinder inscription (Neb. No. 9, see VAB IV, 1912), then in the possession of the Catholic Armenian Vicar General of the Bishopric of Ispahan; from this Grotefend had published 8 lines in 1818 (see above, No. 27). Grotefend's publication was submitted to the Göttingen Academy on 12.5.1848. The inscription is often called the "Grotefend Inscription (or Cylinder);" the original at some time between 1850 and 1861 passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Middlehill, after which it was reproduced in IR 65—66 (1861).

46. 1850: G. F. Grotefend, *Bemerkungen zur Inschrift eines Thongefässes mit ninivitischer Keilschrift* (*Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* IV. Von den Jahren 1848—50 (1850), pp. 175—193) reproduces Bellino's copy of a Sennacherib inscription (see above, p. 45) found by Rich on Nabî Yûnus, and after 1825 in the possession of the British Museum. In addition to the Taylor Cylinder (see above p. 32), the Bellino Cylinder is our main source of knowledge of Sennacherib's history. The publication was submitted to the Göttingen Academy on 8.2.1850.

§ 7. As a natural supplement to the list of publications dealing with Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, we shall now give a brief regionally arranged list of Old-Persian and Susian inscriptions, continuing the short list in § 4, at the close. Only the name of the author and the year of publication will be mentioned wherever the title itself has already been stated in the above Assyro-Babylonian list. The primary copies only, not reprints, are included below.

¹ Communicated to Grotefend with Bellino's letters dated at 22.5. and 31.7. 1818, see Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der babylonischen Keilschrift* . . . (1840), pp. 18—22.

- I. Persepolis (Takht-i-Jamshîd) [trilingual].
 Chardin 1711.
 Kaempfer 1712.
 de Bruin 1714.
Persepolis illustrata: or, The ancient and royal palace of Persepolis in Persia . . . Printed for S. Harding (1739), Pls. VII and IX.
 Niebuhr 1778.
 Ouseley 1821.
 Ker Porter 1821.
 William Price, *Journal of the British Embassy to Persia; . . . also A Dissertation upon the Antiquities of Persepolis* (1825).
Inscriptions from the ruins of Persepolis copied from casts taken on the spot and now in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society. Dublin 1835, 4to.
 Rich 1839.
 Westergaard, *ZKM VI* (1845), Pls. VII—VIII (Susian version). (Texier 1842—52).
 (Flandin et Coste 1843—54).

- II. Murghâb (Pasargadae) [trilingual].
 Morier 1812.
 Ouseley 1821.
 Ker Porter 1821.
 Rich 1839.
 Westergaard, *ZKM VI* (1845) Pl. VIII (Susian version). (Texier 1842—52).
 (Flandin et Coste 1843—54).

- III. Naḡsh-i-Rustam. (Darius' grave north of Persepolis) [trilingual].
 a.¹ Old-Persian: Chr. Lassen, *ZKM VI* (1845), Pls. II—V (from Westergaard's copy); Susian: Westergaard, *Mémoires . . .* (1845), Pl. XII and *ZKM VI* (1845), Pl. VI; Babylonian: Westergaard, *Mémoires . . .* (1845), Pl. XVIII.
 b. Old-Persian: Chr. Lassen, *ZKM VI* (1845), p. 120 (7

¹ As to the designations of the inscriptions, see Fr. H. Weissbach, *VAB III* (1911), pp. XVIII—XIX.

lines from Westergaard's copy); H. Rawlinson, *JRAS* X (1847), p. 312 (15 lines in transcription: "From Mr. Westergaard's MS. communicated to myself").

- c-d. Old-Persian: H. Rawlinson, *JRAS* XII (1850), pp. XIX—XX; Susian: E. Norris, *JRAS* XV (1855), pp. 432—33; Babylonian: H. Rawlinson, *JRAS* XIV₁ (1851), p. 21.

IV. Mount Elvend [trilingual].

Burnouf 1836.

Schulz 1840.

(Texier 1842—52).

(Flandin et Coste 1843—54).

V. Bihistûn [trilingual].

The rock presents a magnificent appearance, rising in perpendicular form to a height of c. 1700 feet, it is situated on the road from Hamadân (Ekbatana) to Kirmânshâh about twenty miles before reaching the latter place. Diodorus Siculus II, 13¹ relates that the rock was sacred to Zeus, and that Semiramis, on the occasion of a campaign against the Medes, caused part of the face of the rock to be polished and then had her likeness, surrounded by a hundred men of her guard, inscribed (carved) on it, accompanied by an inscription in (As)syrian characters commemorating her victorious march from Babylon to Ekbatana. Diodorus Sic. XVII, 110² also relates that Alexander the Great visited the rock on his march from Susa to Ekbatana. The Arabian geographer and explorer Ibn Hauqal (10th century) describes the relief, later so renowned, as representing a school scene. The reason for these uncertain records from Antiquity and the Middle Ages is that the sculptured bas-relief and the great trilingual inscription which Darius I caused to be cut on

¹ τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἱερὸν Διός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν παράδεισον μέρους ἀποτομάδας ἔχει πέτρας εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεινούσας ἑπτακαίδεκα σταδίου. οὗ τὸ κατώτατον μέρος καταξύσασα τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεχάραξεν εἰκόνα, δορυφόρους αὐτῇ παραστήσασα ἑκατόν. ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Συρίοις γράμμασιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν ὅτι Σεμίραμις τοῖς σάγμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ὑποζυγίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου χώσασα τὸν προειρημένον κρημνὸν διὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν προσανέβη.

² τέλος δὲ προσμείνας ἡμέρας (μὲν τινας) ἀνέζευξε καὶ παρεγκλίνας τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὁδὸν θεὰς ἕνεκεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Βαγιστάνην, θεοπρεπεστάτην τε χώραν οὖσαν καὶ πλήρη καρπύμων δένδρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνηκόντων.

the rock, are from 300 to 400 feet above the ground, occupying a prepared surface, 60 by 23 feet. Up to 1835, when Henry Rawlinson began the copying of the inscription, at first merely the relief, later also the inscription, were observed and discussed by the following European travellers: J. B. Tavernier (1638—63),¹ Ambrogio Bembo (between 1675 and 1700),² J. Otter (1734—44),³ G. A. Olivier (1793—99),⁴ P. A. L. de Gardane (1807),⁵ J. M. Kinneir (1808—10),⁶ J. S. Buckingham (1816 f.),⁷ Ker Porter (1818),⁸ G. T. Keppel, Earl of Albemarle (1824).⁹ But on account of the inaccessibility of the rock and the elevation of the inscription none of these observers was able to describe with accuracy the bas-reliefs, far less to copy the inscription. Thus Gardane thought he saw a cross and the twelve apostles below it, Ker Porter, who examined the sculptures through a telescope, identified the minor figures as representative of the Ten Tribes standing before Shalmaneser, King of Assyria and the Medes; only Kinneir made the correct observation that the bas-reliefs must be assigned to the same period as the sculptures

¹ *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier . . . qu'il fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes . . .* I (Paris 1677), p. 284, does not mention the name of Bihistûn, nor the inscription, but says: "Entre Sahana et Policha . . . la seule haute montagne, qu'on voit sur cette route . . . on y voit quantité de tres-grandes figures d'hommes vestus en Prestres . . ."

² *Viaggio e giornale per parte dell' Asia di quattro anni fatti da me Ambrosio Bembo Nobile Veneto* has only been published in extracts by Jacopo Morelli in his *Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi veneziani poco noti* (1803) and was reprinted in Morelli's *Operette* II (1820), pp. 85—123 (about Bihistûn see pp. 104—106; the inscription is not mentioned).

³ *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* I (1748), pp. 186—188; Otter is the first to mention the inscription: "des inscriptions qui ont été effacées" (p. 188).

⁴ *Voyage dans l'empire othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse . . .* III (1807), pp. 23—26 ("portant une inscription que nous regrettons bien de n'avoir pas copiée", p. 24). In the *Atlas* accompanying the travel account (an IX, c: 1801), Pl. 40 the relief is first reproduced.

⁵ *Journal d'un voyage dans la Turquie, d'Asie et la Perse, fait en 1807 et 1808* (Paris 1809); German translation Weimar 1809, pp. 79—80 (*Bibliothek der . . . Reisebeschreibungen* 40) mentions the relief but not the inscription.

⁶ *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire . . .* (London 1813), p. 131: "... a group of figures, in form of a procession, sufficiently perfect to show that they are of the same age and character as those of Persepolis."

⁷ *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia . . .* (London 1829), p. 144 mentions the inscription, its length being estimated at between 200 and 300 lines.

⁸ *Travels in Georgia, Persia . . .* II (London 1822), pp. 149 ff. Pls. 59—60, reproduces the rock and the relief; Ker Porter, who stayed at the place on the 21st and 22nd September, was much interested in the inscription, but "even with the help of my glass I was at too great a distance to copy distinctly the inscription on the robe" (p. 158, cp. Pl. 60).

⁹ *Personal Narrative of a journey from India to London in the year 1824* II (London 1827), pp. 218 ff.

at Takht-i-Jamshîd. Finally it should be mentioned that Bellino, on his unsuccessful journey to Mount Elvend (see p. 45), saw the Bihistûn inscription shortly before his death (13.11.1820), and that Eugène Flandin in June 1840 in vain tried to copy the inscription, declaring that it was impossible to approach, but in April 1835 Lieutenant Henry Creswicke Rawlinson copied the Mount Elvend inscription¹ which he did not publish but which was of great aid to him in his decipherment, and he frequently during the summer and autumn of 1835 visited the rock of Bihistûn and began to copy the inscription. He continued in 1836 and 1837 and at the close of the latter year he had copied about 200 lines of the Old-Persian text. The outbreak of the Afghan war and his resulting military duties removed him from the Kirmânshâh district, and not until 1843 when he was appointed British Consular and Political Agent at Baghdad as successor to Colonel Taylor, could he in the summer of 1844 continue copying the Bihistûn inscription. He then realised that his copies from 1835—37 were useless and started a recopying of the Old-Persian, and a first copying of the Susian inscription; and finally in 1847, amid unexampled difficulties, he copied the Babylonian version of Darius' Bihistûn inscription.² The results of Rawlinson's unique achievement appeared in the following publications:

Major H. C. Rawlinson, *The Persian cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, decyphered and translated; with a Memoir on Persian cuneiform Inscriptions in general* . . . London 1846 (JRAS X 1847): Chapters I—V, LXXI + 349 pp. — Chapter VI: *Vocabulary of the ancient Persian language*, was published in JRAS XI₁ 1849.

Major H. C. Rawlinson, *On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* (JRAS XII 1850, pp. 401—483).

Major Rawlinson, *Note on the Persian Inscriptions at Behistun* (JRAS XII 1850, pp. I—XXI).

Lieut.-Col. H. C. Rawlinson, *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions* (JRAS XIV₁ 1851), 32 pp. + 17 Plates +

¹ JRAS X (1847), pp. 4—5.

² *Notes on some Paper Casts of Cuneiform Inscriptions upon the sculptured Rock at Behistun exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries* (Archaeologia XXXIV (1852), pp. 73—76; read on 7.3.1850).

CVI pp. Rawlinson's Babylonian version of Darius' Bihistûn inscription was reprinted in III R (1870), Pls. 39—40.

E[dwin] Norris, *Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription* (JRAS XV 1855, pp. 1—213).

A new transcription of the Babylonian columns of the Achæmenian inscriptions was published by Carl Bezold in 1882 (AB II). A new edition of the trilingual Bihistûn inscription was published in 1907 by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson with the title: *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia. A new Collation of the Persian, Susian and Babylonian Texts with English Translations etc.* (London 1907). A transcription and German translation of all the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions, including the Bihistûn inscription, see F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (VAB III, 1911).

VI. Varia (in chronological order).

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. The Xerxes Vase [quadrilingual] | Caylus 1762.
Saint-Martin 1823. ¹ |
| 2. The Suez Stone [trilingual] | Denon 1802. |
| 3. Some few Old-Persian signs. | <i>Monumenti inediti</i>
... II (1834—38). ² |
| 4. Xerxes' Van Inscriptions [trilingual]. | Schulz 1840. |
| 5. A trilingual Old-Persian Seal | Grotefend 1840. |
| 6. The Artaxerxes Vase [quadrilingual] | Longpérier 1845. |
| 7. An Old-Persian Seal | Grotefend, <i>ZKM</i> VII
(1850), p. 386 no. 5. |

§ 8. Our above list of Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions shows that no small amount of material, containing amongst other things the long Nebuchadnezzar inscription, was available for study. But the inscriptions only started to live and bear us their message of the ancient culture of Mesopotamia when the first results of the excavations in the near neighbourhood of the ancient Nineveh reached the European museums, and when the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform writing could be read and under-

¹ See above p. 36 No. 6.

² See above p. 48 No. 37.

stood. Both these events took place in the years between 1847 and 1851.

The greater part of P. É. Botta's transportable objects discovered in the Khorsabad excavations arrived at Le Havre in December 1846, and at Paris in February 1847, and on the 1st May the same year the Louvre threw open its doors to an exhibition of these unique monuments. A. H. Layard's museum treasures from the Nimrûd excavations arrived at Chatham, Kent, in October 1848, and were transferred from there to the British Museum, London. As regards the inscription material all earlier publications now received an abundantly rich supplement which was made accessible to the public in the two great works: P. É. Botta, *Monument de Ninive*. Tome III—IV: Inscriptions (Paris 1849) and A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London 1851)¹. While nearly all the publications in the list we have given above reproduced inscriptions written in the Babylonian writing, except numbers 30, 34, 40, and 46, the Khorsabad and Nimrûd finds brought to light inscriptions written in the Assyrian script.

The reading and understanding of the strange Persian cuneiform writing had, through the ingenious observations of O. G. Tychsen 1798, Fr. Münter 1800, and especially G. F. Grotefend (1802, 1805), obtained a temporary foothold, the starting point of the researches being Niebuhr's accurate copies of the Persepolis inscriptions published in 1778. The publication of the Murghâb (J. M. Morier 1812) and Mount Elvend (Burnouf 1836) inscriptions helped them on, and the decipherment of the Persian cuneiform writing was very far advanced owing to R. Rask (1823, 1826), E. Burnouf (1836), Chr. Lassen (1836, 1844), and E. Jacquet (1838) when H. C. Rawlinson in 1846—1847 published his transcription and translation of the Persian column of the Bihistûn inscription, the original text being given at the same time. Through this great work the decipherment of the Old-Persian cuneiform was in the main brought to an end, at the same time as the foundation and, it must be emphasised, the only possible and conceivable foundation, was laid for a penetration into the Babylonian column of the inscription, which

¹ King names and royal titles from the Nimrûd inscriptions, see A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* ... II (1849), pp. 193—200.

was identical with the Old-Persian inscription in contents, and amongst other things contained the same large number of proper names and place names. No one will underestimate the ingenuity which in the period 1845—49 other investigators, more particularly Edward Hincks, had displayed in their attempts to be the first to understand the published Babylonian texts, but only a long connected text, the (Old-Persian) translation of which was legible and understood, could present possibilities of carrying through a decipherment of one of the world's most intricate and complicated types of writing. But by his *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions* (JRAS XIV₁ 1851) Rawlinson not only laid the foundation for all future understanding of the basic laws of the decipherment, but founded Assyriology as a philologico-historical branch of learning. That the decipherment had been accomplished, and the problems of the Babylonian script solved in all their main features, was proved in 1857, when H. Fox Talbot, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Edw. Hincks, and Jules Oppert, at the request of The Royal Asiatic Society, independently of each other transcribed and translated almost identically the great Tiglathpileser I inscription.¹

¹ *Comparative Translations by W. H. Fox Talbot, E. Hincks, Dr. Oppert, and Sir Henry C. Rawlinson of the Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I.* (JRAS XVIII, 1861, pp. 150—219). Published separately in 1857, cp. above p. 41 and 41⁴.

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